MARCH, 1936

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THE CRISIS

BORAH—

What Does He Stand For?

An Examination of the Record of the Man Who Wants to Be President

By Louis L. Redding

EPIC OF THE BLACK BELT

Harold Preece

PILGRIMAGE WITH JIM CROW

James H. Robinson

The Choice of A Nation

The World's Greatest Weekly --- The World's Greatest Fighter

Volunteers Pour In For War

Chicago Defender

Defender Correspondent Given High U.S. Position

ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT STIRS WORLD

Two More Lynched In Mississippi

Italy Continues Its War Plans

THE
Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Acting Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

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SPECIAL NOTE

Just as this issue was being locked up we have received word that the supreme court of the United States, on Monday, February 17, handed down an opinion reversing the conviction of the three Negro sharecroppers, Ed Brown, Yank Ellington and Henry Shields. Their appeal from death sentences on a charge of murder was carried to the United States supreme court by the N.A.A.C.P., the Interracial Commission and interested individuals in Mississippi. Chief counsel was Earl Brewer, Esq., of Jackson, Miss., who made his argument before the supreme court on January 10. The case has attracted wide attention because of the brutal torture used by local authorities to force a "confession" from the prisoners which document was the only evidence, real or circumstantial, against them. It is likely that Mississippi will want to hold a new trial and in that event additional funds will be needed by the N.A.A.C.P. to carry on the fight.

NEXT MONTH

Arthur P. Davis of the faculty of Virginia Union University in Richmond, Va., has written a piece for the April issue entitled "The Negro Professor." Some years ago Mr. Davis wrote an article for *The Crisis* which caused nationwide comment in educational circles and earned for him and his brother the title of "Those Bad Davis Boys." His discussion of the plight of the Negro professor is certain to evoke much discussion in and out of school circles.

In addition there will be other articles, letters from readers, verse and news of the N.A.A.C.P. branches. A number of letters commenting on Rabbi Edward L. Israel's article "Jew Hatred Among Negroes" arrived too late for this issue and will appear next month.

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Borah—What *Does* He Stand For?

By Louis L. Redding

It would seem from this analysis of the senator from Idaho, that Negro citizens can place little dependence in him as a statesman and none at all in him as a man having any conception of the hopes, ambitions and rights of Negro Americans

SOMETIME before the Idaho legislature catapulted him into the United States Senate, in 1907, at the age of forty-two, William Edgar Borah must have adopted as his personal credo a perversion of Emerson's epigram, "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

This is not to say that Senator Borah has been cognizant that the record he has been building up for himself is one in which inconstancy is the only constant trait. It may be that he lacks a clear-cut fundamental political philosophy. There are observers who ascribe the Senator's characteristic teetering between opposite poles of a question to ignorance, which might arise from just such a lack. They think Mr. Borah is as baffling a puzzle to himself as to others—that he as little knows what he wants to do as others know. In her "Revelations of a Woman Lobbyist" Maud Younger has this to say of Borah: "You talk with him, and you think he is with you through and through. . . . But you never quite know. . . . Sometimes you wonder if *he* knows."

To the superficial observer Borah doubtless appears to be a consistent admirer of the Federal Constitution. Throughout his utterances, on the floor of the Senate and elsewhere, recur protestations of reverence for and subservience to the Constitution as framed by the Founding Fathers in the Convention of 1787. He professes to believe "Our fathers understood the science of government as no other single group of men has ever understood it" and the Constitution they built "the greatest instrument of government ever devised by the wit of man." Of the fathers, it is Hamilton who most snares his admiration, and Borah has termed him "in many respects the greatest constructive genius who ever dealt with the science of government."

Yet to that concept in the constitutional framework most highly valued by Hamilton and his associates in the Constitutional Convention Senator Borah was a greater instrument of violence than any other individual. He was chagrined because in 1903, the first time he was a candidate for the United States Senate, a bloc in the Idaho legislature defeated him by four votes. When he did reach the Senate, he steered through it the Seventeenth Amendment, transferring the election of Senators from the state legislatures to the whole electorate. No change wrought in the Constitution has had a more devastating effect on the original plan than this Amendment. The framers believed that the success of the bicameral legislative system depended upon each chamber's owing its election to a different electorate. Moreover, they thought a highly limited electorate for the upper chamber would send to that body a superior rank of statesmen. Borah's chief hero, Hamilton, set forth in the "Federalist," the idea of the framers:

> Through the medium of the State Legislatures—which are select bodies of men, and who are to appoint the members of the National Senate—there is reason to expect that this branch will generally be composed with peculiar care and judgment.

Whether Mr. Borah reached the conclusion that he and other individuals selected by state legislatures for the Senate fell short of the high expectations of the founders is not known. It more nearly appears that to avenge a personal grievance he let himself contribute mightily to the demolition of a cherished concept of the framers whose wisdom and genius he professed to revere.

On the 25th Infantry

In the popular mind the Constitution is associated chiefly with the great rights—freedom of religion, freedom of speech and assembly, trial by jury—enunciated in the Bill of Rights. So greatly did sedition, espionage and syndicalism statutes hedge these rights during the World War and the post-war era of hysterical chauvinism ushered in by the Legion and the white-hooded knights of the flaming cross, that by merely calling attention to the existence of the Bill of Rights public men were likely to win for themselves the encomium "liberal"—always of uncertain signification in the United States. As a professed believer in the Constitution and, therefore, a "liberal," Borah, at a meeting aiming at amnesty for political prisoners, in New York, in March, 1923, orated thus:

> It is the very essence of despotism to punish men for offense for which they have not been convicted.

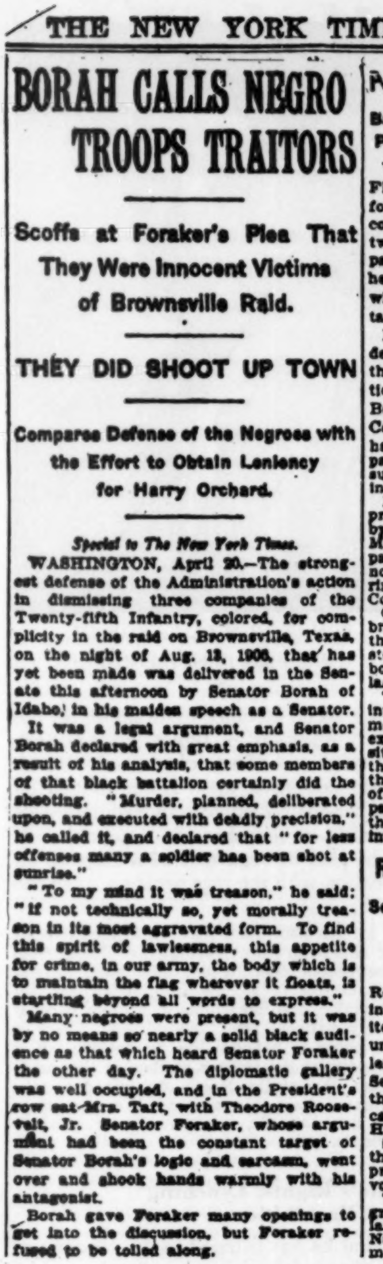
This is a commonplace of rhetoric. It embodies a principle inherent in any form of civilized justice. Notable opportunity to drive home the implications of the principle in the practical sphere has at least twice been presented to Borah in the Senate. On August 13, 1906, in the town of Brownsville, Texas, a race riot occurred in which a battalion of the Twenty-fifth Regiment (Negro) of the United States Infantry was involved. Shortly afterwards, President Roosevelt besmirched his reputation for square-dealing by dismissing, arbitrarily and without trial, the entire battalion, without honor, and disqualifying its members from future military or civil service. Subsequently Senator Foraker of Ohio introduced in the Senate a bill to facilitate reenlistment of the dismissed soldiers. As a counterthrust, Senator Warner of Missouri presented a bill requiring the men, as a condition precedent to being permitted to reenlist, to prove their innocence to the satisfaction of the hostile President who had already summarily adjudged them guilty and dishonorably discharged them. Borah, then a neophyte in the Senate, for this was in April, 1908, arose to speak on the Warner bill. To the President's inconsiderate action in punishing the entire battalion without ascertainment of guilt, Borah gave his firm approval. Said he, "There can be no question in my mind, as to the necessity of eradicating the cancerous growth even at the expense of some healthy flesh around." As to the fresh injustice of the Warner proposal, he said not a word. In his opinion, the conduct of the soldiers merited short shrift and he denounced it as "treason, not technically so, but morally, aggravated treason."

In vivid contrast with his sanctioning the dismissal of the soldiers without trial was his stand for Secretary Denby. By his own admissions, the latter appeared guilty either of conspiring with Secretary Fall, Sinclair et al., in a scheme to despoil the Government of valuable naval oil reserves or, at the least, of gross stupidity and incompetency in office. When a resolution was offered in the Senate advising President Coolidge "that it is the sense of the Congress that the President should immediately request the resignation of the Secretary of the Navy," Borah vociferously opposed it. Here he declared himself in favor of "an arraignment before the proper tribunal, a trial." "In my opinion," he said, "impeachment is the only way by which we can lawfully and *constitutionally* (italics supplied) proceed in this matter." Of course, Mr. Borah knew that because impeachment constitutionally would have to originate in the House, which was heavily Republican and partisan, there was no real chance of impeachment. Mr. Borah, too, must have been aware of the speciousness of his argument that the Denby resolution was not constitutional: it was only an airing of the opinion of the Senate, which nothing in the Constitution inhibits. His stratagem was a transparent shield for Secretary Denby. In fashioning this shield, Mr. Borah displayed a nice sensitivity toward a principle of justice the violation of which in the Warner measure requiring the humble Negro infantrymen to prove their innocence to a President who had prejudged them, provoked from him no comment: he inveighed against passing the Denby resolution on the ground that in doing so the Senators would be expressing an opinion as to the case and would thus "unfit" themselves as Denby's judges if impeachment should be instituted.

Hot and Cold on Woman's Vote

Upon no question has Borah given a more convincing display of reaction and a more confounding exhibition of his chameleon-like variability than upon the question of woman suffrage. On February 21, 1910, he introduced in the Senate a resolution proposing that the Constitution be amended to provide that the right of citizens to vote should not be denied or abridged on account of sex. He did not state that his introduction of the resolution was only by request and without prejudice to his personal attitude on the question. He did not explain that he was not in favor of such an amendment. The women of Idaho, his adopted state, then had suffrage. The natural implication was that he favored the resolution. In October, 1913, in a speech at Newark, New Jersey, he declared:

> I do not know of a nobler, more effectual, a more respected and refined power in the whole arena of social forces, and a more womanly woman, than the woman of today who is giving of her thought and her purpose, her invincible moral courage, in dealing with the social problems and social reforms with which in the future we must contend more and more. . . . And why withhold from this woman engaged in so noble an enterprise the instrumentality by which she can effectuate what her brain and purpose have planned and outlined?



THE NEW YORK TIMES. TUESDAY. APRIL 21. 1908.

BORAH CALLS NEGRO TROOPS TRAITORS

Scoffs at Foraker's Plea That They Were Innocent Victims of Brownsville Raid.

THEY DID SHOOT UP TOWN

Compares Defense of the Negroes with the Effort to Obtain Leniency for Harry Orchard.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 20.—The strongest defense of the Administration's action in dismissing three companies of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, colored, for complicity in the raid on Brownsville, Texas, on the night of Aug. 13, 1906, that has yet been made was delivered in the Senate this afternoon by Senator Borah of Idaho, in his maiden speech as a Senator.

It was a legal argument, and Senator Borah declared with great emphasis, as a result of his analysis, that some members of that black battalion certainly did the shooting. "Murder, planned, deliberated upon, and executed with deadly precision," he called it, and declared that "for less offenses many a soldier has been shot at sunrise."

"To my mind it was treason," he said; "if not technically so, yet morally treason in its most aggravated form. To find this spirit of lawlessness, this appetite for crime, in our army, the body which is to maintain the flag wherever it floats, is startling beyond all words to express."

Many negroes were present, but it was by no means so nearly a solid black audience as that which heard Senator Foraker the other day. The diplomatic gallery was well occupied, and in the President's row sat Mrs. Taft, with Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Senator Foraker, whose argument had been the constant target of Senator Borah's logic and sarcasm, went over and shook hands warmly with his antagonist.

Borah gave Foraker many openings to get into the discussion, but Foraker refused to be tolled along.

Borah in 1908 opposed any leniency for Negro soldiers

Yet in 1914, when the woman suffrage amendment came before the Senate, he opposed it. Later, in 1918, he apparently reversed his position and at an interview with suffragists promised to be bound by the state platform of the Republican Party in Idaho, which had previously endorsed the amendment. At that interview he wrote out a statement, ostensibly for use by the suffragists, as follows:

> We have talked over the Suffrage situation with Senator Borah and our understanding from the interview is that he will carry out his platform and vote for the Suffrage Amendment if re-elected.

When the vote on the Amendment was taken in the Senate in 1919, Borah's vote was "Nay." This vote, after his promise, seems a specific bit of mendacity impossible to palliate.

Justification of his blow-hot-blow-cold advocacy of suffrage for women Mr. Borah posited on (1) the doctrine of local self-government and (2) the antagonism of the South to Negro suffrage as exhibited in the south-wide nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment. When the woman suffrage amendment was being debated in the Senate in 1914, he acknowledged his deference to that antagonism in the following words:

> The thing which confronts me as a practical proposition in regard to this method is the insurmountable and impassable barrier which stands between the women and suffrage so long as the Negro vote in this country is as it is. There are sixteen States in the Union that will never ratify this amendment so long as the Fifteenth Amendment is in the Constitution.

After this prophecy, characteristically bad, he continued:

> We had just as well be candid and fair about this proposition. . . . Why should the women in this country who want to vote take upon their shoulders the race question in their fight for enfranchisement?

Again when the Amendment was before the Senate in 1919, he curtsied low to the South's hostility to Negro suffrage:

> Let me ask my friends upon this side of the Chamber, when this guaranty is written into the Constitution, which gives to from two and one-half to three million Negro women the right to vote in the South and gives you the power to see that the provision is carried out, do the men on this side of the Chamber (the Republicans—Ed.) propose to see that this is done? Do you propose to put the South under Federal control as to elections? If you do, you will have a great task, which you seem lightly to contemplate. . . .
>
> The South has her heavy burden to carry. I do not propose to add unnecessarily to the weight of that burden. . .
>
> To impose upon the Southern States a rule for local affairs for which they are not prepared and which they do not want, simply because we have the voting power to do so, is Prussianism.

That his States' Rights attitude on the woman suffrage question was a purely artificial device to cloak his personal prejudices can be inferred from his willingness to vote for what he called a "white amendment" to the federal woman suffrage amendment. He proclaimed, "When this white amendment was presented, I voted to make it (the woman suffrage amendment) a white amendment." Curiously enough, the record does not support his statement. The record shows that on March 19, 1914, he voted against two such amendments, each presented by the Mississippi senators, Vardaman and Williams. The Williams amendment provided: "The right of *white* (italics supplied) citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of sex." The Vardaman proposal, while not expressly etiolating the woman vote, was even more vicious, for it provided "in all other respects (that is, in all respects other than sex) the right of citizens to vote shall be controlled by the State wherein they reside." Under this proposal, constitutional impediments to the abrogation of all Negro suffrage, male as well as female, would have been dissolved and the State left free to negate the Fifteenth Amendment. It was one or both of these proposals that Borah mistakenly declared he had voted for.

Mistake to Give Negroes Vote

A conclusion as to Borah's willingness to wipe out the Fifteenth Amendment rests upon something more explicit than inferences from his statement as to the "white amendment."

> I will say very frankly (Borah announced during the 1914 debate on woman suffrage) I am one of those who believe that it was a mistake to bestow upon the colored people at that particular time the right to vote.

That his view was not unanimously shared by his colleagues in the Senate is evidenced by the reply Senator McCumber made:

> If it had not been granted then it never would have been granted, and we would have had in this day a large population that were not citizens of the country. If it had not been granted at that time it never would have been granted afterwards.

Two weeks later Borah went further:

> Mr. President, I say very frankly that if woman suffrage in this country depended upon the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, if there were no way to get woman suffrage except to get it through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and I believed that in order to get it the Fifteenth Amendment would have to be repealed, I would vote to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment.

Asked by Senator Thomas of Colorado whether, "for the purpose of restoring prior conditions," he would vote to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, Borah replied:

> I want to say to the Senator that if there is to be found no way in which to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, I would unhesitatingly vote to repeal it. It is a certainty now that it is a delusion and a snare. . . .

(The full deadliness of such repeal to the Negro citizen Borah himself recently indicated. On January 28, 1936, on the hustings in Brooklyn, N. Y. to advance his political aspirations, replying to the badgering of Negroes in his audience, he said: "If there is anybody in the United States who ought to be interested in maintaining the integrity of the Constitution . . . it is the colored man, because it is his *charter of living.* (italics supplied).)

The spectacle of Borah simultaneously professing a sincere belief in the betterment of government by the inclusion of women in the electorate and thwarting such a social advance by dragging in the Negro question is typical of his self-contradiction. Such conduct, if Borah should not insist upon being judged by a higher-than-average standard, might be regarded as the sheerest hypocrisy. It might also be regarded as indicating an obsession with the race problem. He has said:

SENATOR WM. E. BORAH

He wants to be President

> I regard the race question as the Nemesis of American life. I sympathize deeply with the people upon whom falls most heavily the burden of solving it. Sphinx-like, inscrutable, and intractable it intrudes itself at every national feast and jubilee. There is no phase of national life, no outlook but is colored by the sinister shadow of this problem. We of the North can afford to take counsel upon this matter. We can afford to listen to the requests of our southern friends.

State's Rights, Lynching And Prohibition

That he has listened to the requests of "southern friends" when he has twice helped slay so-called federal anti-lynching bills has been quite apparent to sponsors and friends of that legislation. Then, as usual, he cloaked his opposition in veneration for the Constitution. "To my mind," said he, "if this kind of bill can be passed and sustained by the Supreme Court, we have utterly annihilated all State sovereignty; we have broken down State lines completely." Recently, reaffirming his constitutional objection, he has avowed that "should the unexpected and great honor come to me of being President of the United States and such a bill should reach me . . . I would unhesitatingly veto it." Borah's frequently displayed lack of integrity in maintaining a position always casts doubt upon his sincerity. But if he is genuinely prepossessed by some abstract theory of the relations between the state and national governments, there is, in this instance, ample answer. Statutes designed either to prevent or punish mob violence in forty states, including ten with the worst lynching records, have not checked lynching. A study of the University of North Carolina shows that only eight-tenths of one per cent of the lynchings since 1900 have been followed by convictions of the lynchers. State enforcement officials, insensitive to their states' default in affording equal protection to citizens, have publicly applauded mobs which have usurped the functions of the State and dealt our anarchic Judge Lynch's barbarity in place of due process of law. A conscientious legislator should escape criticism for declining to support a measure palpably unconstitutional and impolitic. But there can be no question of the good policy of the anti-lynching legislation. And where able and disinterested constitutional lawyers urge the validity of the proposed legislation, a constructive legislator would not block the possibility of the highest test—judicial examination. What the Supreme Court would do with the anti-lynching law cannot be predicted. It is interesting to recall that the present Chief Justice of the Court, in 1919, was a leading spirit in a National Conference on Lynching which unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that lynching be made a federal crime punishable by the United States courts.

"States' rights" gave the Idahoan no trouble when it came to supporting federal prohibition. The smug opportunists who seized upon the emotionalism and patriotism of war to dry up all the States by national action found in Borah a champion. Later, when the nobility of the prohibition experiment had been tarnished by the colossal bootleg racket and its bloody concomitants, when wholesale and contemptuous disregard of the prohibition amendment was sapping respect for laws generally, Borah rang the air with pleas against "nullification." Speaking in Washington, in 1923, on "Shall the Constitution of the United States Be Nullified" he declaimed:

> The subject which has been assigned to me does not devolve upon me the duty of arguing the wisdom or unwisdom of any provision of the Constitution. *That question was settled when any particular provision was placed in the Constitution* (italics supplied). I take the instrument as I find it—the crystallized views of a nation and mean to insist that it shall be maintained and enforced as written.

Startling is the comparison of this idealism with words uttered by Mr. Borah in a colloquy in the Senate with John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, a few years before. Borah, after pointing out that the Mississippians had kept

(*Continued on page* 82)

A Pilgrimage With Mr. Jim Crow

By James H. Robinson

The author had many amusing adventures with Jim Crow on his way to, and at the sessions of, the Student Volunteer Movement convention in Indianapolis during the Christmas holidays. Note his discovery of the ironic truth that many Negroes are more anxious to enforce Jim Crow conditions than whites

I WAS elected by the students of Union Theological Seminary as a member of a delegation of twelve to the Student Volunteer Convention, held in Indianapolis, Indiana, December 28 through January 1. As I had about ten days of vacation before the convention began, I decided to go south and visit my relatives and some friends. In the meantime one of my classmates, a white student from Charlottesville, Virginia, had asked me to stop over for a few hours with him, since I had to pass through his home town. I accepted.

We left New York in the afternoon by the Pennsylvania railroad. About five-thirty our train came to a brief halt at the station in Baltimore. From my seat at the dining car window, where I sat facing my friend, I caught the questioning faces of Nordics on the platform as they squinted at us in the darkness. Being a Negro and having been subjected to prejudice all my life, I could not help noticing even these slight details, although to my friend they were not at all obvious. Baltimore is after all a southern city and that accounts for the boldness of the staring. I am not deluded, however, that the same thing could not have happened in any northern city, only a little less obviously.

We left Baltimore shortly and arrived in Washington an hour later. Here we had to change to the Southern railway. We knew that we could no longer ride together now, at least in comfort, for conditions were very different. My friend agreed, however, to attempt to ride with me in the Jim Crow car. The reactions of the colored folk were interesting as we seated ourselves. Some were annoyed, some amused, others tried to appear indifferent, and all stared. The looks of some told us precisely what they thought about us—that we were a couple of young upstarts courting trouble and we'd soon get it. We did, but quite differently from what we had expected. To be sure we were born and educated for the most part in the South. Consequently we knew the attitudes and had carefully thought the situation through.

"Are You a Negro?"

Before our train left the station the conductor had occasion to walk through our coach several times. Each time he scrutinized us, but couldn't quite make up his mind whether my friend was white or a very fair Negro. As nearly as I can judge, this must have been his thought. Just out of Alexandria he came through to take up the tickets. This time he turned to the colored porter and asked him if he thought my friend was white or colored. The porter shook his head and said he didn't know. The conductor then turned and asked my friend, "Boy, did you happen to be born a Negro?" To which my companion answered that he was white. Whereupon the conductor answered that he would have to go into the white car. To this my friend responded that he didn't think the law read that way—that it segregated Negroes and not whites. The conductor affirmed his own point of view and told us that he was interpretating the law and told him in no uncertain terms to get out. It was evident that he was quite peeved that we should dare question his authority. To make matters worse, my friend turned to me and asked if I thought the conductor was right. This was more than the conductor could bear, for he probably thought my word was being recognized as if more weighty than his own. He took the ticket and ordered my friend out. Thus we separated. Later he explained that if my friend had remained in the Jim Crow car that the colored people could have complained about his presence just as much as white folk could complain about the presence of a Negro in their car. His attitude to me was openly hostile the remainder of the trip. It was interesting to note that most of the colored folk in the car were delighted at what had happened. I overheard one lady say that it served me right for "trying to get out of my race."

We were met at the station in Charlottesville by the mother and aunt of my companion. They shook hands with me and gave me a most cordial welcome. All this passed unnoticed by most of the white people. Perhaps the cover of darkness was responsible for this, but even darkness did not conceal it from the Negroes who watched in wide-eyed amazement. I rather think that what few white people who did notice us took it for granted that my relation was that of a servant. My friend thinks they would have been quite shocked if it had been broad daylight. I suppose I must have spent nearly four hours as their guest, on a plane of equality, in a home where no Negro had been entertained before. While I do not put emphasis on the "first" or the "only" I do, however, put emphasis on the fact that a southern family, the father of which held a responsible position, had dared to break southern traditions by showing hospitality to a Negro. I not only was shown every courtesy but they even showed me about the campus of the University of Virginia. I have never been accorded better treatment.

When I went to the station to continue my journey to Charlotte, N. C., my friend, his sister, a rather attractive young lady of high school age, and his little brother accompanied me. This time, however, a group of white C.C.C. boys almost created trouble, for they couldn't understand why this young lady was so friendly toward me. Yet there was nothing more than a casual conversation between us. They would walk close to us in groups of three or four, look at us, and then walk back to the larger group from which I could hear muttering that meant no good. As it was a very cold night and the train was late, my friend left, partly at my encouragement. As they walked past the intoxicated youths, they heard sarcastic remarks passed at them. After they had gone several of the C.C.C. boys came up to me and asked me where I was going, where I came from, who my friends were, and how I could dress like I did. I answered as politely as I could, for there was no advantage in becoming belligerent toward that group. When I told them I went to Seminary they said they didn't see how a Negro could go to school when they couldn't. Precisely at that moment the head-light of the overdue train burst upon us. I am quite convinced that the timely arrival of the train saved what might have been physical injury, if not worse. I didn't realize the anxiety of those few moments until after the train was underway and I again found myself seated in the Jim Crow car. I was very glad to be there.

The Porter Gives Orders

After spending several days in Charlotte, I continued on to the Student Volunteer Convention. On the train I met two students, one from Livingston college and other from North Carolina A. and T. Another young man, who was formerly a student at Johnson C. Smith university, joined our party. The former two were on their way to the convention also. To the same train was attached a coach chartered by several delegations from the white colleges of North and South Carolina. Several came into our car and asked if any of us were on our way to the convention, and if so would we join them in their car for at least part of the way. We considered the matter and decided to go back with them for a while.

Incidentally, I might mention that the car in which we were riding was a dilapidated wooden coach, coupled between two steel coaches. One hates to imagine what would happen in a wreck to those of us in that car. Unless I am mistaken, such practices are against the Interstate Commerce Commission's regulations. One of the people who extended us the invitation made the same observation. At any rate we started back, but at the door we were halted by the colored porter who said we could not go back as we would have to pass through several of the white coaches. To our protests he only answered that those were his orders and we would have to see "the captain" (meaning the conductor). In the meantime I saw the brakeman, as we waited for the conductor. He bluntly told me that we'd have to wait until the next stop, get out of our coach and walk back on the outside of the train. In the meantime the conductor was brought up by one of the white delegates. He hesitated at first, but when the white students insisted that they had chartered their car and had the right to entertain whoever they pleased, and were entitled to the privilege of bringing guests into their car even while the train was in motion, he consented. All this happened while I was engaged with the brakeman. Those of us who went back experienced no difficulty in the cars through which we passed.

At the convention there was no segregation in the hotel as to accommodation or the use of public rooms, with the one exception of dining rooms. One dining room was reserved for the regular hotel guests, but to those of us who had fought through this whole problem with the convention committee it was an obvious compromise with the Hotel Manager's Association of Indianapolis. There were also no restaurants open to Negro delegates in the city. Only where we threatened as a group to walk out could Negroes eat. Perhaps I ought to explain my use of the collective term "we." By it I refer to a group of delegates from Union Seminary, McGill, the College of the Ozarks, and Howard university. Our group grew from this meagre beginning to a hundred and ten students representing forty-one colleges and seminaries.

Negro Students Timid

To our surprise we could find very few Negro students who had the courage to combat the situation with us, although it was for their benefit. Quite candidly, most of them had no adequate analysis of the race problem, inconceivable as this may seem. Others were more interested in showing their preference for parties and dances rather than constructive thought and action. Yet I feel quite certain that many of these students gave glowing reports to the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s responsible for their presence at the convention. Two colored students, one from Gammon Theological Seminary and the other from the University of Wisconsin, made themselves quite obnoxious by talking much and saying nothing. Of the two evils it was generally agreed that the theologue from Gammon was the worse. He insisted upon showing his lack of knowledge and understanding from the platform. Despite all our group had done, his blunder, in five brief moments, undid much.

All was not dark, however, for there were some Negro students who stood out, the equal of any others. It was conceded that the best address at the student meeting was delivered by a brilliant young Negro, Jeffery Campbell, who travels for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the New England Field Council of the Student Christian Movement. The students of Morgan college headed by Dean John W. Haywood made an outstanding contribution. There were others who did the race credit, but there were far more who were a liability.

Southern Whites Alert

Our group in submitting a minority report asked the conference committee why no outstanding Negro leaders were on the program, although the announcements had made much of the fact that it was to be interracial as well as international. We further pointed out that to the seminar on race relations five different racial experts had been invited and no Negro was present in that capacity. They replied that they had invited several Negro leaders, but none were able to attend. They pointed with pride that they had asked Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the president of Howard university, and three or four other leaders, but to no avail. That this had been done is true, but the fact remained that if the conference committee could obtain leaders and speakers from every land to which the Christian missions have gone, it stands to reason that if they were sufficiently interested they could have obtained many capable and qualified Negroes in America. Surely, as we pointed out, the race is not so impoverished for leadership that the inability of four or five men to appear on the program should end all possibilities. We did not believe they could have been so ignorant of all the college professors, professional workers and outstanding ministers, who would have done as well and better than many of the speakers who did appear.

One hopeful fact was the manner in which many southern students assisted us along our line of attack. Thomas Curry of the University of Texas, paid his own way to the convention to take up the matter of race relations. Several white southern girls from other institutions aided us. One, a student at a college in Alabama, told us what she and a group of friends were doing and said that if her mother knew she was accepting us as her equal, she would be disowned. This young lady was particularly wrought up about the blundering speech of the gentleman from Gammon. She felt as did most of us that he greatly hurt the cause.

I drove back to New York with four friends, two from the seminary, one from Harvard and his sister from Mt. Holyoke College. We took a southern route through Ohio and Pennsylvania, never more than fifty miles north of the Mason-Dixon line. The trip would have been interesting enough if I had not been colored, but being colored in that section made it even more interesting. Everywhere we stopped to eat we anticipated difficulty, but to our surprise we had none. To be sure the people were not always sure what to do. Perhaps, it was the boldness with which we entered the restaurants that forestalled their action. Naturally, we were objects of curiosity everywhere we stopped. We had to stay overnight at a tourist camp just out of Greensburg, Pennsylvania. The proprietor offered us rooms, but was surprised when I and one of my classmates decided to share the same bed and save fifty cents.

This trip of twenty-six hundred miles through thirteen southern and bordering states, despite its moments of anxiety and insults, yielded much, for it does point to the fact that the inter-racial situation is not utterly hopeless. I realize the picture is dark and that no one of my generation will ever see anything like a miraculous change—yet there are evidences of change, and these are incalculably significant when they come from the South.

Epic of the Black Belt

By Harold Preece

No more dramatic struggle for a decent place in the sun has been initiated than the fight of the black and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers on the cotton plantations of the South. Two movements are underway: the Sharecroppers Union centering in Alabama and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in Eastern Arkansas. Mr. Preece writes of the Alabama union

A NEW type of Negro has appeared in Alabama, as bent backs straighten to throw off an insufferable burden. From the most exploited group of a traditionally backward state, a genuinely indigenous labor movement has arisen. Today, the gentlemen planters of the Black Belt no longer confront a Negro population that can be intimidated by whip-lashes and commanding epithets. They face Negroes who have forged for themselves a potent weapon—the Share Croppers Union.

For the union is a force emanating from the very heart of the Black Belt. All the emotional intensity, all the aching desires of a subject people find expression in the unceasing struggle of this organization. Let it be remembered that the American Negro has an unbroken tradition of revolt. In the cabins of the Deep South, one may still hear tales of the numerous slave rebellions which occurred before the Civil War. Thus Camp Hill and Reeltown stand in logical relation to almost forgotten battles of the past century. Ralph Gray and Cliff James were the heirs of Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. The Share Croppers Union is an expression of the tradition in modern terms, with only a slight change in economic symbols.

Four years ago, a surprised nation read of the fight at Camp Hill. The then president, Mr. Hoover, was unperturbed since Alabama never goes Republican anyway. The Democratic aristocracy of the state issued printed invectives about "bad niggers stirring up good niggers." Liberals deplored the action of the lawless deputies who had used gunpowder, instead of the customary civil processes, to enforce the landlord laws.

I doubt if the croppers of Camp Hill had any illusions about the law before their meeting was attacked on that hot summer night of 1931. Not since the inception of the union, a few months before, had they dared to exercise their constitutional rights and assemble openly. Twenty-one year old Estelle Milner had brought them a paper called *The Southern Worker,* and those who could read a little had spelled out each issue to the illiterate. Later, another Negro, bearing credentials as an organizer, had come into their midst and talked to them in vacant, isolated shacks. The meeting near Camp Hill had been called because of the suspension of "furnish" by the landlords.

That night, planters, deputy sheriffs, klansmen, and stool pigeons swarmed into the neighborhood. These traditional defenders of Southern womanhood first invaded the cabin where Estelle Milner lived, beating the young girl into insensibility. The croppers were overtaken on the road to the meeting place and immediately attacked by the Tallapoosa County chivalry. During the fight, Ralph Gray and Sheriff Kyle Young shot each other, although neither was killed instantly.

In the words of Al Jackson, secretary of the union, "The sheriffs picked Ralph Gray for the first attack because he had always fought for his rights as a human being." After the shooting on the highway, the croppers congregated with guns in front of Gray's cabin. Late that night, the expected lynch gang came to finish the wounded leader. The attackers were held off until the Negroes had exhausted their ammunition. During the fight, three more croppers were killed. Gray was finished, while lying on his bed, by Policeman Matt Wilson of Camp Hill. Wilson placed the barrel of his pistol into Gray's mouth, and pulled the trigger. The body of the dead Negro was taken to town and dumped on the courthouse lawn.

The Reeltown Battle

Another classic battle occurred at Reeltown, the next year. "Reeltown had become one of the strongest sections of the union with the most fearless comrades" . . . . (A. J.) Cliff James, leader of the Reeltown local, was in debt to W. S. Parker, a wealthy landlord of the community. Parker, learning of James' activities, demanded immediate payment or surrender of his crop and livestock. After much argument between the two men, an understanding was reached whereby James was to pay a certain sum on account the following Monday.

On the next day, however, a posse rode into James' yard, armed with revolvers, winchesters, and a writ of attachment. James' neighbors, warned of such a possibility, had gathered to protect his home and possessions. Ned Cobb and James pleaded with the officers to leave peacefully. The Sheriff's face flushed until it attained the red heat of an anvil. Rising from his saddle, like Tom Mix in a second-rate horse opera, he declaimed, "We'll go and come back and kill all of you damned niggers in a pile."

But the "damned niggers" refused to die in a pile. When the original posse returned with their forces augmented by Camp Hill's town loafers, they found Negroes who were armed and ready to fight. The siege of that Alabama cabin is comparable to anything in the pioneer saga. Through windows, through holes in the walls, and while fleeing to the woods, the Negroes fought as courageously as any group of early white settlers resisting an Indian attack.

Ned Cobb was shot while trying to enter the house. He is now serving a term in the state penitentiary for defending his life against the murderous hoodlums. Alf White, convicted of the same offense, was recently drowned in a well on the prison farm, and there is every probability that he was thrown into the watery hole. Cliff James and another cropper died from traumatic pneumonia as a result of lying in the woods with their wounds unattended. Many of the posse were also injured in the battle, and several of its members died from exposure.

Misled white tenants were members of the bloodthirsty mob at Camp Hill. But the encounter at Reeltown witnessed the initial attempts toward solidarity. When the survivors of the second battle were fleeing for their lives, they were hidden in the cabins of poor whites until they could travel. The force of hunger was shattering the mutual distrust of the two races. According to Al Jackson, "Even those farmers who participated in terrorizing the Negroes in 1931, are now reading our literature, keeping us informed of the designs of the landlords, and distributing leaflets when we ask them to do so."

Strike for $1 a Day

Last year, in Lee County, Alabama, the union successfully conducted a strike for a minimum cotton-picking

(*Continued on page 92*)

The Conversion of Harvey

By Octavia B. Wynbush

Harvey could not see visions or feel the spirit the others seemed to see and feel, but he found God despite the torture of a revival meeting

HARVEY halted suddenly in his wandering among the tangled vines, the close-grown trees and the mossy stumps of Devil's Swamp. He had penetrated to its center. He knew that by the soft, blanket-like stillness which lay over everything, as well as by the fact that he was standing under the moss-draped arms of his favorite live-oak tree.

The gay song of a late autumn bird trilled from some bough far above his head. The scarlet, yellow and brown leaves of the trees and bushes which shed their leaves in spite of the fact that they were growing in the southern part of Louisiana, floated in silent gracefulness to the rich dark mould beneath Harvey's feet.

But neither the leaves nor the song of the bird thrilled the boy as they usually did. He was all melancholy. A heavy weight lay on his spirit—the weight of sin and wretchedness. He had been attending the fall revival services at Jerusalem Church two miles down the river road, and he had been convicted of sin on the first night of the meeting.

Harvey remembered that night in the crude little church with its rough benches crowded and creaking under the bodies swaying in time to the spirituals. After the praying, the singing and the preaching, the minister had extended the invitation for all sinners to come forward. No one responding, he had asked all present to stand up. Then he had requested all who were saved to sit down, leaving the sinners exposed standing.

Under the spell of the preacher's pleas, or the cries and urgings of friends and parents, or perhaps because of embarrassment, or emotion, Thad Smith, the leader of Harvey's gang, had stepped forward and knelt at the mourner's bench. A distinct electric thrill had shot through the "Roughnecks," as this gang of boys ranging from fourteen through sixteen had styled themselves, to see the toughest member of this company surrender to prayer and entreaty.

Amid shouts of "Praise God!", "Glory hallelujah!", and "Thank you, Jesus!" one by one the other Roughnecks had stepped from the crowded benches and gone to the mourner's bench in the front of the crude pulpit stand. Never 'till his dying day would Harvey forget the pandemonium that reigned as he and the rest of his companions knelt for prayer. Jumping bodies—waving arms—hysterical shouts—broken snatches of hymns—cries of women—hoarse shouts of men—and above all the booming voice of the preacher "Praise God! Praise de Lawd fo' his goodness! Children, let us pray!"

Under the spell of the preacher's prayer, Oliver Gray, one of the weaker and less toughened member of the Roughnecks had cried out and staggered to his feet. Instantly Miss Susan Helm, one of the sisters of the church had grabbed Oliver around the neck, shouting, "Honey, you is got it, you's come through. Praise His holy name!"

Then, at the close of the meeting, Oliver had been taken inside the deacons' little room of the pulpit stand for questioning. The next night he had made a brilliant and moving testimony of his conversion, after which statement he had been received as a candidate for membership.

One by one during the following week the other "Roughnecks" had come through, each bearing a wonderful testimony which, to quote Deacon Eldem, had "set the meeting on fire." Now, after seven days, there remained of the original group of mourners, only Harvey. For some reason he couldn't explain he had yet failed to see the light. And tonight marked the close of the revival.

Although he could not explain his failure to "come through" with the others, Harvey's family found no difficulty in discovering a number of reasons for his dilemma.

"You ain't in earnest, boy, you cain't be," his Uncle Butler said.

"You must go to sleep when you kneel at the mourner's bench, Harvey. You know you're too lazy to stay awake 'cept only when you're moving or eating," his sister, Harriet, giggled.

"You mus' be holdin' on to the world, Son," his mother had told him, "but jus' keep prayin' an' cut aloose from everything."

"Boy, you is harborin' some secret sin," Grandma Brown quavered, on the occasion of his weekly visit to carry her some of his mother's Saturday baking.

"You mus' be, fo' it ain't natchel fo' a young one lak' you to be so hard to come ovah. How old is you, anyhow?"

"Fourteen, going on fifteen, Big Mama," came the gloomy response.

"Fohteen, an' still fritterin' away time asettin' in school eight months outen twelve! Jean sho' be's de beatinest woman fo' havin' queah ways. She didn't git no sech schoolin' but she sho' is workin' herse'f to death for all you big strappin' young uns. Hit's a shame befo' de Lawd to hab a big strappin' six-foot man fritterin' away time in school."

Harvey looked down at this long, lean length, feeling more awkward and miserable than ever. Big Mama, usually so sympathetic, had evidently got up on the wrong side of the bed today.

"I don' know if eddication an' religion mixes, nohow. I ain't never seed nothin come of eddication but stuck-upness an' high falutin' ways us folks cain't reach wid with a six-foot pole. I serously doubts whethah sich a pusson can be saved."

A cold shiver ran up and down Harvey's entire length and across his back. Not be saved! That meant eternal fire—hotter than the fiery furnace—flames mountain high—the never dying worm—devils skewering souls over the hottest part of searing flames, just as he and his friends skewered weiners on a weiner roast.

"You go 'long home now, an' pray. Put up dem books fo' a while and devote yo' time to God. Dey is what's standin' between you an' de light. Book learnin' and true religion don' set together, some how.—Ain't you goin' kiss you' Big Mama goodbye?"

Harvey, already retreating from the door, came slowly back and dutifully but unenthusiastically kissed Grandma Brown goodbye. He could not for the life of him put into that kiss the tenderness and enthusiasm with which he usually bestowed it. Then he swung his ungainly length down the garden path, through the little gate and into the dusty road.

HE went past the swimming place to have a swim with the other fellows who were sure to be found there. On his arrival he had found their favorite meeting place deserted. It was only then that he had remembered Thad's telling him that a good Christian didn't go swimming. With that recollection, Harvey felt more acutely, if possible, his own lost and undone condition. To want to go swimming when his very soul was hanging over Hell's dark door!

So he had straggled back from the

pool to the road—knowing not whither he wanted to go. His feet, responding to some subconscious guidance, had carried him along the dusty road, past Deacon Eldem's prosperous well-cared acres, around the bend in the road and over the bridge whose rotting planks afforded precarious protection from the narrow, sluggish stream below, and led him deep into Devil's Swamp under his favorite oak.

Slumping down in an untidy heap of long legs and dangling arms, Harvey leaned his head against the trunk of the tree and pursued his disheartening thought. He recalled conversations of his parents and testimonies of others of his elders, concerning the miraculous visions and signs and omens that had attended their conversions. He remembered old Mother Henshaw's tale, told on every occasion possible since it happened nearly fifty years before,—Old Mother Henshaw, who on week days and between revivals kept the whole village agog from end to end by her gossipping and tale bearing—yet, she had seen a miraculous sight.

"As I was on my knees, down in the deeps of the woods, askin' fo' mercy on my lost an' undone soul, I heard a voice cry, 'Look an' live!' "

"I looked up, an' I saw the heavens open, an' a blindin' flash of light come down. An' the voice from some unseen angel cried once mo', 'Rise,' Martha, go in peace an' sin no mo'. Brethren and Sisters, I rose to my feet. I looked at my han's an' my han's looked new! I looked at worl' aroun' me, and all de worl' was bathed in the grace an' glory of God Almighty, new streamin' from de heavens."

Harvey could hear her cracked voice taking one melody as she intoned the words to the accompanying chorus of amen's and hallelujah's, and the undertone of melodic humming of the congregation. He could see the rapt look on Mother Henshaw's withered brown face as she rocked and swayed to the rhythm of her own words.

A wicked thought flashed through Harvey's mind. How could a woman who caused so much disturbance be admitted to such a beautiful experience? He curbed the sinful thought and bowed his head in his hands. Again there beat upon his brain and through his consciousness the utter wretchedness of his own sinful mind. His thinking became less and less connected. Surely the end of all things was in sight for him, if he failed to have a vision. Hadn't all the others had visions? Hadn't Thad even seen a miraculous handwriting in the darkness? But Thad's vision was mighty like the one Farmer Stodgers had told year in and year out as long as Harvey could remember. Yet that didn't keep Thad's story from being true. With so many people in the world, maybe there weren't enough visions to go around. He, Harvey, would try his best to have one before he left the swamp.

And so he sat there in the drowsy atmosphere of the swamp, listening with unwilling ears to its thousand little noises. Surely such a place of quiet was the right place. Slowly the opiate stillness had its effect. The seeker after religious grew less rigid, and finally stretched full length at the foot of the oak.

THE early dusk was creeping up from the earth, and the river mist was rising when Harvey slipped out of the swamp, thoroughly disgusted with himself, and thoroughly convinced of his doom to eternal damnation.

When he entered the kitchen of his home, his nostrils were greeted by the savory smells of the evening meal already spread on the clean blue and white-checked tablecloth. His two brothers and three sisters greeted him from their seats at the table.

"Hi, Harve' where you been all day?"

"Ain't you the lazy loafer, sneakin' off and leavin' us to do your share of the work!"

"Shet up!" His mother's voice brought sudden silence. "Cain't you all see yo' brother's still seekin' peace? Set down, Son, and eat."

"I don't want much, Ma," Harvey answered, lounging into his seat, terribly conscious of the battery of eyes trained on him. He felt that his sisters and brothers regarded him with contempt, amusement or awe, according to their several natures. His father, tall, stalwart of body and sparing of speech, seemed not to notice his son's arrival. But Harvey knew that behind that seeming indifference the "old man" was doing his own thinking.

Despite his avowal that he didn't want much, Harvey ate ravenously. A fellow still got hungry even if he was seeking religion. Twice Bennie, opposite him, kicked him on the shins under the table. On looking up, Harvey had beheld his brother's eyes opened wide in mock horror, while his mouth pantomimed the words, "Oh, no, you didn't want much." An unholy temptation to return the kicks with compound interest surged over Harvey. But even such an act might mean the withdrawal of whatever mercy the Lord might have in mind to extend to one so sinful.

The time after supper passed at last, and Harvey was again swinging down the road under the first cool stars. The family was going as a body to the last service. Harvey walked along rapidly, head sunk on his chest, hands deep in his pockets, oblivious of the rest of the family who kept up a constant chatter in all keys. Harvey's one aim was to reach the church as quickly as possible. He wanted to take his place at the mourner's bench before there were so many spectators.

On reaching the church grounds, fairly covered with church-goers moving about in the dusk and the cool of the evening, Harvey slipped through the throng, as inconspicuously as possible. He dreaded being stopped and questioned as to the progress he was making in being converted. He was glad to find only five or six people in the long, narrow, low-roofed room which would soon be stifling with the heat and the smells of closely-packed bodies.

By the glow of the oil lamps suspended from the rafters in the ceiling, and hanging from wall-brackets on the sides of the room, Harvey strode past the rough-hewn planks set on trestles that served as benches, and sat down on the very front bench dedicated to mourners. He must pray tonight as never before. If this revival closed on him as still a sinner, he would be disgraced forever, an' outcast from Thad and his other pals, a laughing stock in the community.

His thoughts turned to Thomas Leppard. Thomas had come through four revivals unsaved. At first the community had regarded him as an object of pity, then of despair, and finally as an object of contempt and humor. Thomas was now the standing joke of the community. Harvey winced. He could never stand to be in Thomas' shoes, but Thomas did not seem to mind.

But this wasn't praying! He must pray. And he began to whisper over and over, "Lord have mercy on me, a sinner."

So rapt did he become in the prayer, that the first indication he had of the fact that the church had filled, was in the first notes of a spiritual.

Lord, I want to be a Christian,
  In-a my heart, in-a my heart.

Voice after voice took up the strain, until the raftered ceiling rang with the refrain,

  In-a my heart, in-a my heart,
Lord, I want to be a Christian,
  In-a my heart.

Through the stanza voicing the wish

to be like Jesus,
  In-a my heart, in-a my heart,

and the one,

I don't want to be like Judas,
  In-a my heart, in-a my heart. . . .

went the song, and when the last strains had quivered to rest in the furthermost corners of the church, Harvey heard the voice of his Uncle Billy's wife, Rose, raised in prayer. Through his bemused brain floated snatches of her phrases, time-worn, but sweet to Harvey every time he heard them.

"Lord, we thy servants come to thee, like empty pitchers before a full fountain, waiting to be filled."

Later on, her familiar petition for the preacher: "Bless this thy servant that shall break the Bread of Life to us.—Crown his head with wisdom from on high.—Rough-shoe him with the preparation of the Gospel—Put the silver trumpet of salvation in his mouth that he may call dying sinners to repentance."

Her words for the sinners sank deep in Harvey's heart.

"Have mercy, Master, have mercy, on those po' sinners hangin' over hell's dark door,—who are on the road to destruction and seem to love their distance well. An' specially, dear Jesus, come down and touch the hearts of those po' mourners aroun' the mercy seat tonight. Put the live coals of the grace into their hearts that they may use and give Thee the glory for evermore."

She closed with the request for a general blessing for "all I'm duty bound to pray fo'," and the hope for her own final rest, half-spoken, half-sung in rhythmic strains:

"Now, Father, when I'm done comin' an' done goin', in that great gettin' up mornin', when the big bell tones in Zion to raise the quick an' the dead, give me a resting place to rest my weary head forevermo'."

The whole lyric utterance, intoned as it was in a voice beautifully mellow, and accompanied by a subdued undercurrent of humming in rising and falling cadences by the congregation, and interspersed with the shouts of some of the members, helped increase Harvey's trance-like state between despair and ecstasy.

Two or three more spirituals were raised at the same time, the victory going to the most persistent and most powerful-lunged of the contestants, and the building reverberated once more with the strains of "Let my people go."

Through the mazy spell the singing and the prayers and the continuous undercurrent of rhythmic humming had woven around him, Harvey finally heard the words of the preacher, echoing like peals of thunder and crashing through the building like sharp flashes of swift lightning. His picture of God's mercy to the three sinners on the mourner's bench was the first knowledge Harvey had that two other lost souls were keeping him company. Peeping through the fingers of the hand supporting his bowed head, he saw a girl and a boy at the far end of the bench.

"And, God, friends, is settin' without a doubt, on his great white throne tonight, along side the battlements of glory. An' on one side, stands de angel wid de great trumpet in his han's—de trumpet that's to wake de quick and de daid on dat las' day. An' de angel wid de trumpet says, 'Lawd, mus' I blow dis trumpet?' an de good God say, 'Not yet. Not yet! Wait twell dese po' los' sinful souls at de mourners bench in Jerusalem Church come home!'

"An' on de other side of God's white throne stans de angel wid Death, Hell an' Destruction in his han's, de Angel wid de vials of God's wrath. An' de angel says, 'Lawd, mus' I let loose destruction on dis wicked worl' below?' An' God Almighty says, 'Not yet! Not yet! Wait till my po' los' lambs come home!'

"But brothers an' sisters, he ain't always goin' to keep on extendin' mercy. He's goin to get tired of havin' sinnahs turn der backs on him an' still crucifyin' his only begotten Son. An' some of dese days dis ol' worl's going to reel an' rock from the very foundations of hell, to de battlements of glory. An' sinful men and women is goin' call on de rocks an' de mountings to fall on dem an' hide dem f'um de wrath o' God, but God ain't goin' pay 'em no mind. An' 'Too late! too late!' will be de cry of souls hurled into everlasting fire, fire where the worm never dies, an' life is never quenched."

SINKING deeper and deeper under the spell of the magnificent, full cadences of the preacher's voice and the ejaculations and rhythmic "moaning" of the congregation which had swelled from a soft monotone to an antiphonal accompaniment, Harvey became aware after a while that the sermon had reached its conclusion. The preacher had called for members of the congregation to come forward and labor individually with the mourners.

Aunt Rose stepped to Harvey's side and knelt with him on the hard, bare planks. Deacon Mayberry raised his voice in prayer. The congregation began its antiphonal chorus. A sudden cry from the girl who knelt beside Harvey. She sprang to her feet clapping her hands and shrieking in ecstasy. The chanting accompaniment to the Deacon's prayer grew louder and more melodic. The boy at the other end of the bench staggered to his feet and was surrounded by a group of people who had surged forward from the congregation.

Harvey's heart beat wilder and wilder. His brain whirled faster and faster. "Lord have mercy! Lord have mercy on me, a poor sinner!"

Aunt Rose prayed louder and louder. The group that had surrounded the two converts joined their prayers with hers and pressed in a suffocating semi-circle as close to them as possible. The old building rocked and swayed with the incessant patting of many feet keeping time to the rhythm of their own ejaculations and responses.

Suddenly the preacher strode through the semi-circle raising his voice in the melody:

Ride on King Jesus!
Ride on King Jesus!
Ride on conquering king,
I want to go to heaven in the morning.

Bending over Harvey, he laid his broad, strong, black hand on the boy's head.

The experience of the preacher had taught him that, in most "stubborn" cases, the touch of his hand on the head of the mourner provided as a last resort, the necessary stimulus for conversion. But to Harvey, the heavier the moist fat hand pressed his head, the farther and farther within himself shrank that elusive something for which he wished to find expression.

Finally, after the strain had become unbearable, he rose to his feet, hot and cold by turns with the daring of a sudden resolution. The shouts and cries of the congregation became redoubled in intensity.

"Glory, hallelujah!"

"One mo' soul snatched f'um de jaws of hell!"

"Thank you, Jesus!"

The whole church surged forward to shake the convert's hands, but Harvey held them off in desperation, shaking his head and trying to make himself heard above the general clamor. The preacher raised his hand for silence.

"Brothers and sisters, dis young man got somethin' to tell you. He wants to tell you of his crossin' ovah—"

"No! No I don't!" Harvey's voice had the boldness of despair, and the shrillness of courage screwed to the sticking point. Sharp ejaculations and cries of wonder greeted his words. The preacher thrust to him sharply.

"What's dat you say?"

"I—I don't want to tell them I've crossed over—cause I ain't. I can't do it.—Don't pray for me any more—least not tonight. I can't stand it." Then Harvey bolted down the aisle and out of the door.

Straight home he fled, and had been there an eternity, locked in his room, when his sister called through the keyhole,

"Harve! Gramma and Dad and Mother want you. They're in the kitchen."

In a moment Harvey found himself standing in the kitchen staring toward the table where sat his parents and his grandmother gazing at him with conflicting expressions on their faces.

Harvey faced them sullenly. He wasn't afraid—no, he wasn't afraid. Let them do what they darn please. He hadn't felt what the other mourners said they had, and he wasn't going to lie

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Don't Shout Too Soon

By Charles H. Houston

Victory in the University of Maryland test case does not mean the battle for educational equality for Negroes is over, warns the chief counsel in the legal campaign

CONGRATULATIONS are coming into the national office on the successful termination of the Donald Gaines Murray fight to matriculate in the School of Law of the University of Maryland. For all these the N.A.A.C.P. is duly grateful. So far so good; but the fight has just begun. The other southern state universities are not going to confess error just because Murray obtained a favorable decision in Maryland. Virginia, Missouri and Tennessee have rejected the applications of qualified Negro students since Murray actually entered the School of Law of the University of Maryland last September. These students have appealed to the N.A.A.C.P. for aid. It has cost the N.A.A.C.P. $2,000 and a lot of volunteer labor to get Murray inside the doors of the University of Maryland. Multiply this by three and one sees that the Association must raise immediately not less than $6,000 to take care of these Virginia, Missouri and Tennessee cases. Then there are North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky and the other southern states to be provided for as the occasions arise.

It will take a lot of money to finance these test cases against state university exclusion, but even so money is not the sole answer. Law suits mean little unless supported by public opinion. Nobody needs to explain to a Negro the difference between the law in books and the law in action. In theory the cases are simple: the state cannot tax the entire population for the exclusive benefit of a single class. The really baffling problem is how to create the proper kind of public opinion.

Here we have a lot to learn. As Negroes we have wrestled with problems of discrimination so long that we have a tendency to feel that every person in the country knows these problems as well as we do. The truth is there are millions of white people who have no real knowledge of the Negro's problems and who never give the Negro a serious thought. They take him for granted and spend their time and energy on their own affairs. In Virginia last fall a white minister asked whether there were any colleges for Negroes in Virginia; the only school he had heard of in ten years' residence was Hampton Institute. In St. Louis last January the editor of one of the most influential dailies was shocked to learn that qualified Negroes were excluded from the state university in Missouri. At a recent conference held at Ohio State University, three students wanted to know why Negroes aspired to study law in southern state universities, because they had been informed that Negro lawyers could not practice in the South. Another student stated he had always assumed Negroes could attend state universities in the South because they were public institutions, although he had known all along that Negroes were barred from southern private colleges. The Richmond *Times-Dispatch* editorially opposed the admission of Negroes to the University of Virginia on the ground it would be a first step toward miscegenation although mere casual inquiry would have informed it of hundreds of Negroes in northern colleges and universities with no problem of miscegenation arising.

This is the real American public which must be convinced. Millions of white people, North, East, West and even South: not vicious but just misinformed or completely lacking in information, full of preconceived prejudices but willing to recognize and admit the truth when it is plainly pointed out to them. The competition will be stiff to see who reaches them first: Negroes and their friends bringing them light, or rank reactionaries feeding them racial intolerance and hatred.

The old channels of publicity will not do. The white newspapers, with some notable exceptions, are callously indifferent. Negro aspirations and Negro progress are not news. The radio is practically closed to all speeches for racial equality. Any white person who is interested can inform himself about Negro life through the Negro press; but for every white person who reads a Negro paper, there are ten thousand white people who do not. Competent authorities estimate that the total circulation of all the Negro newspapers sold in the City of New York will not exceed 60,000 copies a week, and that of these 60,000 not more than 10,000 copies find their way into white hands. Think of it: 10,000 copies a week to keep 7,000,000 white people in the New York area informed on Negro progress and Negro problems, and to offset the vicious race propaganda which finds its way into the white press.

We have got to look facts in the face and realize what we are up against. Even in Maryland the walls of prejudice are not going to tumble down just because the Court of Appeals uttered its solemn pronouncement that

> "......Compliance with the Constitution cannot be deferred at the will of the State. Whatever system it adopts for legal education now must furnish equality of treatment now... And as in Maryland now the equal treatment can be furnished only in the one existing law school the petitioner (Murray) in our opinion must be admitted there."

An undercurrent of hostility exists at this moment among some of the law students themselves to the admission of Negroes to the School of Law. They do not object to Murray individually but they are afraid lest the court's decision "let loose a flood of Negroes and injure the standing of the University." The $2,000 spent by the N.A.A.C.P. in court proceedings to get Murray inside the School of Law has not reached them at all. For every dollar the Association spends in litigation, it could profitably spend ten dollars in educational publicity and the formation of an enlightened public opinion. These uneasy Maryland law students and the millions of misinformed white Americans must be shown that qualified Negroes can attend state universities without any danger to the university standing, without creating problems of miscegenation, without interfering with the normal life of the other students, and that the general level of culture, standard of living and citizenship in the state will rise. The difficulty is that the N.A.A.C.P. is so poor it has to strain to the utmost to find even enough money for the primary court expenses, and in all too many instances has been compelled to leave the publicity on the case to charity and chance. Negroes must increase their budget for publicity in the future.

Every Negro organization and every intelligent Negro must redouble its and his efforts toward interracial understanding. We must seek out opportunities to state our case to the white public. We must accept the chance to address white audiences on the race

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LETTERS from READERS

Jew Hatred Among Negroes

To THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I read Rabbi Israel's article with great interest. I'll have to differ with him slightly so far as Chicago is concerned. In the latter city named the colored population as a whole is very liberal on this point. Any Jewish man, woman or child, will testify to this. So far as Chicago is concerned, taken as a whole, there is no anti-Semitic feeling among the colored population. As a whole they memorize the name of the late Julius Rosenwald; his portrait now hangs on the walls of the colored Y.M.C.A. I know nothing of what he states in regard to the anti-Semitic feeling in the city of Baltimore one way or the other, but if there is, it should be bitterly condemned by the colored leaders. In regard to the colored lady who thought Jews should spend their money to help them, I don't agree with her, for my part I highly admire the Jews for the way they look out for their own orphans and aged, and the respect the average Jewish children have for their parents and for the latter of keeping their children out of serious trouble as a whole. Let the Negro take a hint and do likewise, furthermore, the Negro can't afford to be prejudiced against anyone. He needs all the friends he can get. In my opinion Italians, Jews and members of the Slavonic races and French Canadians—are more liberal than many Negroes are with each other.

FRANK ST. CLAIRE

4321 Michigan Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

To THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I seldom express, in writing, my views on articles written for the public. I feel urged to reply briefly to an article written by Rabbi Israel in the February CRISIS entitled "Jew Hatred Among Negroes." I speak in the following manner with no prejudice against the Jews. There is no growing hatred against Jews on the part of Negroes. Negroes do resent the oppression which the Jews are imposing upon them along many lines. I am replying to the article because I am the colored Christian minister referred to as being opposed to what was said.

On the occasion of which Dr. Israel writes, a symposium was presented "The Germans' Treatment of the Jews: Is It Justified?" A Johns Hopkins' professor presented the affirmative side, giving the historic reasons why Germany didn't want the Jews to live in their country. The negative side was discussed by the Baltimore Rabbi who emphasized the sufferings of the Negroes in America more than the main issue in the debate.

The next point which met with my disfavor was the scorching denunciation of holding the Olympic games in Germany on the ground of the Nazi treatment of Jews. The speaker urged the colored people to register their disapproval of America's participation in the contests. At this point a resolution was proposed concurring with the sentiment expressed by the speaker. To this I objected on the grounds that this was the first time Negroes, in a large measure, would be permitted to enter the international contest. Since the race has some of the most outstanding athletes in the world this would be an excellent opportunity to bring back honors to America. Colored people do not condone the Nazi treatment of Jews, but we do protest against Negroes being exploited for ambitious aggrandizement. To my mind the Jews take the lead in this pernicious practice.

Many of us have felt for sometime that the small number of Negroes who have become Communists have become so because of Jewish agitation. Communism as we understand its practice in Russia, is not the course to take in winning our rights as American citizens. The rank and file of the colored people feel that the race problem will never be solved by force, but by peaceful methods.

Some of the members of the Forum questioned Rabbi Israel about the treatment of Negroes by Jews in Baltimore, especially in the downtown first class stores whose doors are closed to Negro trade. This started the hostile spirit of Negroes toward Jews. Self-respecting Negroes could not remain complacent under such ostracism. What followed immediately? The Jews built cheap notion stores from one end of Pennsylvania avenue to the other, thinking Negroes would flock to them to buy. On the contrary, many went to Washington, Philadelphia and New York to trade and many are still doing so.

When the notion stores were opened the Industrial Negroes who were thrown out of work demanded that they take on colored clerks. This was met by opposition on the part of Jews. The results were—picketing and court cases, finally the Negroes won and members of their group were put on as clerks. The Negroes of Baltimore have felt the oppression and exploitation of the Jews for a long time. They have chafed under the extortionate rents and mortgages on property and many have lost their homes because of this.

If the Negroes have a growing hatred for Jews, the Jews are directly responsible for this feeling. Still I do not believe this feeling exists. I have the kindest feeling for the sincerity of Rabbi Israel in his sympathy and activity for Negroes, but he should realize the Negro is awake to the insincerity of a great many Jews toward Negro progress.

REV. JOHN T. COLBERT

Baltimore, Md.

To THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Having read Rabbi Israel's article entitled "Jew Hatred Among Negroes" in the February issue of The Crisis, I herewith comment:

While conditions such as the Rabbi mentions in his article may exist to an extent, in the East and Northwestern parts of the United States—in the South where the bulk of the Negroes live, "the Jew is the Negro's best friend." For sixteen years I have lived in the South in eight different states. I come in contact with Jews often and feel that I am able to differentiate between the true and the false. The doors of the Synagogue in my city are always open to the Negro and without fear of contradiction I can truthfully say that here in the Southland where thousands of Negro women are working for $1.50 per week, others for $2.50 and $3, it is the Jew who pays as much as $5 and over for domestic servants.

In my personal contact with Jews I have found them to be all that any Negro should expect here in the South or any part of the United States. Here in the Southland it is the white man who hates the Jew. I have often heard the remark "I wouldn't buy from a Jew." This remark is made as a result of prejudice which exists in the hearts of the southern whites on account of the Jew's economic position here in the South. While I do not doubt the authenticity of the facts as presented by Rabbi Israel, on the other hand I feel that the anti-Jewish feeling that exists among my people is small and insignificant and therefore not alarming.

In conclusion, please allow me to say that there is one race in which the seed of unrest, anti-Semitism, etc., will never take root and that race is the Negro race. Fascism and Nazism had their chance during the five years of depression when Negroes were starving and if their hearts hadn't been in the right place they would have fallen for such bunk.

J. E. MALONE

Mobile, Ala.

To THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Dr. Edward L. Israel: The shock you have suffered from the growing, haunting suspicion of a Jew Hatred among Negroes, I will neither attempt to affirm or deny. My only advice is—If your, as well as your race's generous, well-meaning efforts have met with a coolness of response—examine your motives. If your generosity was actuated by a real heart to heart interest, you have need for surprise—and sympathy, too. But the loyal, trusting soul of the American Negro has been too often betrayed to be greatly enthused by generosity prompted by a selfish motive. The story is often told about one of our better known Presidents calling his colored porter whenever he wanted a certain suave visitor correctly "sized-up." From the time slave traders lured our foreparents from their native haunts down to the colored expert of today who knows his employment will end as soon as a white substitute can be found, the American Negro has learned to judge from the "reason why" in preference to the "appearance-at-present." Convince him of your sincerity and you will have his affection and loyalty; but if selfish ends are your purpose, expect cold cooperation, but never love.

ROY O. ANDREWS

Wichita, Kans.

To THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—While it would give a distorted view of the relations between Negroes and Jews to concentrate attention on either the best or the worst of either group, no discussion of the subject is in perspective which fails to mention the name of Julius Rosenwald.

D. DESOLA POOL

New York, N. Y.

About Virginia Schools

The following letter has been received by Charles H. Houston of the N.A.A.C.P. staff from the superintendent of schools in Wise County, Va. In view of the article carried on the Wise County colored schools in the January issue, THE CRISIS is printing the letter below:

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of December 17, I wish to advise that the School Board of Wise County in the administration of its schools does not make any demand from any community to raise any special fund for the improvement of its school. Where a disposition on the part of any particular community is to make local improvements for the school we do not discourage such a practice. Appropriations thus raised by Negro citizens are proportionately not greater than that contributed by white communities.

Work on colored schools and grounds under the civil works administration is being done at the same time that similar work is being done on the white schools in the county. At this time we have secured approval for the construction of a new colored school building at Appalachia under the works program. The school building to be provided at Coeburn has not yet been approved by this organization but we hope that this will come through within the next few days.

The deed for the school property at Coeburn has not yet been made by the colored citizens but the details have been prepared and they have the deed for execution.

J. J. KELLY

Wise County, Va.

Editorials

The Problem of Borah

NO better illustration of the problem of the Negro voter in American politics has appeared than that posed by the candidacy of Senator William E. Borah for the Republican nomination for President.

Here is a candidate of the so-called liberals of the G.O.P. He stands opposed to Hoover and the old guard—a group which never has meant much to Negroes. Were colored people free to make choices without attention to the color line, many colored Republicans might be inclined to follow the liberal wing of the party.

But a reading of Louis L. Redding's article on Borah, "the liberal," in this issue reveals the following record on Negro citizenship rights:

(1) He has been—and may still be—for repealing the 15th Amendment, which gives Negroes the right to vote.

(2) He may be fairly suspected of wanting to require special qualifications for Negro voters because of his assertion that it was "a mistake" to enfranchise Negroes when they were enfranchised.

(3) He believes the North should follow the advice of the South on matters affecting the Negro.

(4) He thinks the federal government is powerless to enforce the life and liberty clause of the 14th Amendment, but easily able to enforce the property clause. He suggested, when pressed last November, that a constitutional amendment is necessary to enable the federal government to act against lynching, but since he has been in the Senate there have occurred 1,356 lynchings and he has not raised his voice for an amendment or for *any plan* to curb lynching.

It becomes clear, from this record, why Negro voters are forced, through sheer self-preservation, to subordinate the issues facing voters generally and make a choice based upon the candidate's record upon, or attitude toward, the Negro.

THE CRISIS submits that the record of Borah makes it impossible for Negro Republicans to lend him any aid whatsoever.

Steady Work Needed

THE whole history of the world-famous Scottsboro cases demonstrates the absolute necessity of steady, sustained work for the freedom of the nine youths who have spent five years in jail. The great plaint of Alabama and all professional white southerners has been that "outsiders" ought not have "interfered" in the cases. The answer to that is that Alabama's procedure against the defendants has made it imperative that *someone* interfere in the name of humanity and justice. The world had no desire to poke itself into a criminal case in Alabama, but the steady succession of events in that state involving the defendants leaves no doubt but that the state, left to itself, means to murder the youths on a charge which has been demonstrated to be fantastic. Judge James E. Horton, a man who has spent his life in the courts of Alabama, examined minutely the "evidence" in this case in 1933, after sitting for days at the trial of one of the defendants, and gave as his considered judgment: "the weight of the evidence preponderates in favor of the defendant." This is no pronouncement from an "outsider." It is the opinion of an Alabama jurist of excellent reputation, a man learned in the law, one familiar with all the aspects of Alabama opinion on the race problem.

Alabama, by her persistence, by her palpably unfair trials, by her flaunting of constitutional guarantees, by her clinging to the dogmatisms of race prejudice, by her white-washing of the cold-blooded shooting of one of the manacled defendants by a sheriff, has left the world outside nothing else to do but to fight on by every means at hand until the Scottsboro youths are free.

Despicable and Stupid

FOR once we are inclined to agree with the editors of the Atlanta *Constitution,* who label the race hatred campaign of Governor Eugene Talmadge and his followers as a "despicable recourse." The *Constitution* might have added that this course is also stupid.

Most colored people have heard of the speech of Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman," from which was made the film, the "Birth of a Nation," before a convention of southern anti-New Deal Democrats in Macon, Ga., January 29. Dixon classified the N.A.A.C.P. as the "rottenest Communist organization in the United States" mostly because of its pushing of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. At the same convention free copies of the Georgia *Woman's World* were distributed to each delegate. This paper is trying to tell the people of the South that President and Mrs. Roosevelt are "forcing" social equality on the South because they have received a handful of Negroes at the White House with ordinary courtesy and because a few Negroes have been appointed to richly deserved positions in the national government by Mr. Roosevelt. These same people forget, of course, that the Negro voters of certain northern and western states helped to give Mr. Roosevelt the electoral votes to win and made it possible for southern legislators to be in positions of power in the Congress.

But the majority of southern white people is notorious for its stupidity on all matters in which the race problem is touched. They have never been able to elect a President or develop a real statesman principally because their vision is bounded on all sides by the race problem. They are so afraid the Negro will get an inch ahead that they stay down in the ditch with him. And what a spectacle they make!

Significant Victory

NO student of labor problems of Negroes ought to pass over the settlement of the strike of editorial workers on the New York *Amsterdam News*. These workers joined the New York Newspaper Guild, a union of editorial workers. They made certain proposals to the owners of the *Amsterdam News* concerning working conditions, hours, collective bargaining and wages. The owners chose not to confer with them on the proposals. After eleven weeks on strike in which they were supported 100 per cent by white members of the guild, the old ownership of the paper went bankrupt, new owners bought the paper and took the strikers back under a guild contract, with all demands granted.

Many Negro employers are of the old order which still clings to the "race pride" argument in the running of business. It is true that many Negro businesses cannot stand absolute comparison with similar white businesses or be subjected to identical demands, but they should realize that employees, whether they be working for white or colored bosses, are entitled to fair wages, decent hours and some security. They should approach the ideal as closely as possible. If they do not choose to do so, the *Amsterdam News* strike has pointed the way to victory for the workers.

Borah

(*Continued from page 72*)

Negroes from voting, in evasion of the Fifteenth Amendment, added:

> Now, I am not discussing at this time the question as to whether or not the South could submit to the domination of the inferior race. I am not discussing the justification of what you have done. *We would do the same thing in the North if the situation was the same* (italics supplied).

Right, indeed, was Borah when in the nullification speech already quoted from, he said:

> We need to have constitutional morality declared as was the gospel of old to the high and the low, for against this neither "things present nor things to come shall prevail."

It is a need William E. Borah may himself be charged with.

The Changeable Senator

The flashing art of the orator, of all the arts, has been the most distrusted. This is not to say that orators are dishonest. Even a conscientious and sincere speaker, by the stress of circumstances and the mellifluence of his own voice, may be swept into overstatement which at some later moment his conduct will repudiate. In July, 1921, and again in July, 1922, Mr. Borah delivered in the Senate Chamber beautiful, powerful, devastating speeches against the Bonus.

> A nation (he warned) whose citizenship has been drugged and debauched by subsidies and gratuities and bonuses, who has surrendered to the excesses of a treasury orgy, has taken the road over which no nation has ever yet been able to effect a successful retreat.

He admonished the soldiers that "in later years" they would "rue the heedless hour when they exchanged a noble heritage for less than a mess of pottage." He continued: "The thing which he (the soldier) earned, the glory which was his, transcends the miserable values of the market." Perhaps Mr. Borah was sincere. But the fact that the things he said then continued to be true and applicable in 1934 when he came to favor the Patman bill to cash the Bonus through currency expansion illustrates why Borah, the orator, frequently shares the distrust which is heaped upon the art in which he excels.

Under the title "Senator Borah versus Senator Borah," the Spaniard, Salvador De Madariaga, Oxford professor and League of Nations authority, has satirized the inconsistent endeavors of the Idahoan in first bringing about the outlawry of war through the Kellogg Pact and subsequently proposing that a code of laws be drafted to govern the seas in time of war. Under the same title, much in Borah's public career may be set down.

Ellis

LOUIS L. REDDING

Vehement protagonist of isolation for the United States, he nevertheless failed to vote against entry of the nation into the war in 1917. Proposer in February, 1923, of a bill to make the concurrence of seven out of nine judges of the Supreme Court necessary to pronounce an act of Congress unconstitutional, in January, 1936, he took a stand against abrogation or abridgement of the power of the Court, writing in a popular magazine: "But I do mean to say that without the power of the Court to declare acts of Congress in contravention of the Constitution void, the Constitution as the supreme law of the land disappears;" and "And only by preserving both the Constitution and the power of the Court can we be certain that it will remain a government of law." Having boasted, "The key to my public conduct is a strong and instinctive sympathy for the underdog," he, alone, but for one other Senator, voted against increasing the pay of underpaid postal workers. A loud inveigher against centralization and abdication to "the anemic satellites of bureaucracy," he has nevertheless concurred in most of the centralizing, bureau-creating legislation of the "New Deal," even capitulating to the subjection of the Idaho potato, with the potatoes of all other States, to the overlordship of the Federal Department of Agriculture.

Borah nominally has always been a Republican. In the last few weeks he has prefixed an almost incongruous qualification to the party label. Recently he wrote to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., addressing him as the "son of the only man who ever inaugurated a fight against monopoly in this country." This familiar profession of admiration for the elder Roosevelt, an authentic fount of liberalism of a former day, may stir the public memory to recall that when Roosevelt barged out in a new party in 1912, Borah, having followed the leader to the brink, turned back, remaining in the organization for whose chicanery and dishonesty he could not suppress his disgust and contempt. Again, in 1919, Borah revolted—verbally: "The League is one of these great questions for which any man would quit his party without any hesitancy if he had a bit of manhood in him, if his party disagrees with him or he with it." Borah, more than any other individual, had obstructed President Wilson's purpose to win the acceptance of the United States for the League; and considering the pertinacity of Borah's opposition, it is difficult to see how he could have been in agreement with the evasion of the League question by the Republican platform of 1920. Yet, following the Convention, he roamed about the Middle West, vigorously campaigning for the election of the party's candidate, Warren Harding. With all of Borah's chortlings of disgust with the party and his frequent threats to secede, his apostacy has never materialized. And so, now it is not as a "Liberal," but as a "liberal Republican," that Borah announces his candidacy for the Presidency, which quadrennially since 1912, he has been thought to covet. Perhaps this hybrid label is necessary to cover a record which over so long a period has conjoined prating of lofty idealism with practice of the most rigid reaction.

Cincinnati Teacher Wins $250 For Best Essay

Mrs. Laura Knight Turner, 28, Mt. Hope Road, teacher in the Jackson school, Fifth near Mound Streets, Cincinnati, O., won the first prize of $250 for the best essay on "The Teaching of Modern History and Current Events," offered by the magazine, *Current Events*.

Mrs. Turner is a descendant of Cincinnati's first Negro preacher, the Rev. O. B. Nickens. Her mother, Mrs. Laura Knight, is assistant principal at the Jackson school. Mrs. Turner was graduated from Woodward high school at 15, received her A.B. degree at the University of Cincinnati at 18, Master's degree in English at 19 and later degrees of Bachelor and Master of Education. Her 4-year-old son, Darwin, reads and writes and recently returned with her from a European trip. The boy's father, Darwin Turner, is a graduate in chemistry at the University of Cincinnati, and his grandfather was the first Negro to be graduated from the university.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

New Scottsboro Doubts

The Baltimore (Md.) *Sun*

IT is difficult to believe that any one who has read the dispatches from Birmingham has obtained any clear idea of what happened in the automobile that was carrying three of the defendants in the notorious Scottsboro case back to the Birmingham jail from Decatur, where the trial was held. What is worse, it seems unlikely that clarification will be forthcoming, although the incident obviously demands thorough investigation. For as it stands, the official account alone, without the contradictions of the prisoners to disturb it, is so vague, so confused and so insufficient that it awakens anew grave doubts in a case already distinguished by the questions it has raised.

All that is certain is that a deputy sheriff of the name of Blalock was wounded with a knife and that one of the nine Negro defendants was then shot in the head. He is given, it is said, an even chance to live. One wants to know how it happened that any of the Negroes, in custody for nearly five years, was in possession of a knife. If one of them was armed there was a singular lack of vigilance on the part of the authorities. One also asks if it is reasonable to suppose that after all this time, without show of violence, the Negroes would attempt a break at the moment when another effort to save their lives is under way.

From the beginning the Scottsboro case has been surrounded with prejudice and has caused high feeling in a region which has none too good a record for respecting the rights of accused Negroes, and which has too often had recourse to lynching. Naturally, therefore, the current accounts of the shooting are likely to lead many to suspect that the latest incident was a variation on the familiar theme of "shot while attempting to escape." That suspicion may be unjustified. It can be dispelled only by rigorous investigation into all the circumstances.

The ruling of the Maryland Court of Appeals that qualified Negroes "must, at the present, be admitted to the one school provided for the study of law—the Law School of the University of Maryland"—is a noteworthy achievement in the campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to secure equal educational opportunities for Negroes in the South.

This decision opens the way for future victories in the South-wide attack which the N.A.A.C.P. is making upon educational institutions. The association announces that it is preparing to initiate court action in Virginia to compel the admission of Negroes to graduate and professional schools maintained by that state. Surveys are being made in North Carolina and Missouri with a view to taking effective steps toward the equalization of educational opportunities in those states. . . .—New York *Amsterdam News*.

The ruling of the Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland that Negroes must be admitted to the Law School of the University of Maryland is a victory of far-reaching significance.

The University, which is supported by the taxes of the people of Maryland, had sought to bar Donald G. Murray, a citizen of Baltimore, from admittance solely on the ground of his color.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through Attorneys Thurgood Marshall of Baltimore and Charles H. Houston of New York, fought the case through the courts of the State to victory. The Association deserves the commendation and support of all intelligent people.

There is entirely too much of a disposition among Negroes to emphasize what CANNOT be done instead of determining what CAN be done. There is almost no limit to what CAN be done if we are willing to get behind those who are heading the fight—with enough money.—*Pittsburgh Courier*.

Maryland's Commission on Higher Education finds itself out of a job at present.

This body, appointed by Governor Harry Nice to suggest ways and means to make higher education available to all the citizens of the State, has been outrun by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The N.A.A.C.P.'s victory in the Murray case automatically opens the University of Maryland, heretofore available to white students only. . . .—*Afro-American*.

The latest press report from the jungle state, having to do with the Scottsboro mock trial, tells the world that one of the prisoners, Ozie Powell, while chained hand and foot to the other eight prisoners, attacked a deputy sheriff and was shot in the base of the brain by the sheriff himself.

It is not quite clear and probably will never be properly explained how a prisoner thus handcuffed, with ankles shackled, could take out his knife and cut a deputy sheriff. This statement was issued by those who did the shooting, therefore, its credibility can very readily be discarded. . . .—Chicago *Defender*.

Governor Eugene Talmadge claims to be working to save the Constitution. It then goes without saying that he stands pat for the enforcement of all its amendments and provisions. That being true—what about the Negro doing jury service. Speak out so that we may all hear you Governor.—Rome, Ga. *Enterprise*.

We see Harlem's "Black Eagle" as a blatant jackdaw. We trust Boston will never be inflicted with him again, and we are glad that we closed our advertising columns to announcements of his appearance. Julian talks loudly about his being a "black" man. We wish he were otherwise.—Boston *Chronicle*.

The shooting of Ozie Powell, one of the Scottsboro defendants, by a deputy sheriff, on the road between Decatur and Birmingham while the prisoners were being returned to jail after the trial of Heywood Patterson smacks so strongly of the "lynch spirit" that one becomes highly suspicious about the story that Powell, whose hands were manacled, attacked the armed sheriff. . . .—Cleveland *Eagle*.

"The fine Italian hand" is being well shown by Mussolini on two fronts. 1. His admirable handling of the League of Nations, which has caused torrents of talk, a dearth of action. 2. In the battles with Selassie, the black subjects of Italy are put in front to serve both as shock troops and bullet absorbers.—Cincinnati *Union*.

Ten New N. A. A. C. P. Directors

AT the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held January 6, 1936 in the national office at 69 Fifth avenue, New York, ten new directors were added to the board.

This number represented a beginning at the enlargement of the board in accordance with the new plan and program adopted at the 26th annual conference in St. Louis last June. This election also marked the beginning of a new plan of nominating members of the board. Heretofore, nominations had been made by a nominating committee appointed by the board of directors. Other nominations could also be made by the branches, by a petition signed by at least fifteen members. Nominations also could be made from the floor at the annual meeting.

In St. Louis a plan was adopted to have three members of the nominating committee elected by the delegates at the annual conference each year. These three elected members, plus four members named by the board, constitute the nominating committee. Nominations are still published in THE CRISIS, official organ of the Association, sixty days before the election, in order to permit other nominations to be made in accordance with the constitution.

THE CRISIS is glad to present the pictures of the new directors and brief biographical sketches of each of them.

DeBerry, Rev. William N., lives in Springfield, Mass. He is a graduate of Fisk university and the Oberlin graduate school of theology and received the degree of D.D. from Lincoln university in 1914. He was elected Assistant Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches in 1919; is a trustee of Fisk university, the Springfield Home for Aged Men, and the Service League Foundation of Springfield; is a member of the Springfield Board of Public Welfare; and Executive of the Dunbar Community League. The Rev. Mr. DeBerry was awarded first prize by the Harmon Foundation "for distinguished service in religion" in 1928, and in the same year was awarded the William Pynchon Medal by the Springfield Publicity Club for "distinguished public service."

Dunjee, Roscoe, is one of the best known citizens of Oklahoma and the Southwest, and lives in Oklahoma City, where he is the editor and publisher of the *Black Dispatch*. Mr. Dunjee has served for a number of years as the president of the Oklahoma City Conference of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P., and has toured the state several times in the interest of the Association's work. Under his guidance the Oklahoma branches have carried on the Jess Hollins case, which is scheduled to go to trial for the third time, as the material for this issue of THE CRISIS is going to press. Mr. Dunjee also has been active in the name of the Association in the fight against residential segregation in Oklahoma City. The fight against this type of segregation was won last year when the Oklahoma Supreme Court handed down a decision barring residential segregation. The editor of the *Black Dispatch* is also interested in the state school system for Negroes, and has been pressing for a removal of certain discriminations in Oklahoma's peculiar school tax law. As publisher of the *Black Dispatch* he has become known throughout the country for his fearless editorial policy, and numbers among his admirers people of both races. In 1930, when a mob roasted George Hughes to death in the vault of the courthouse at Sherman, Texas, Mr. Dunjee drove personally to Sherman and wrote a story for his paper. At the St. Louis Conference in June, 1935, he was awarded the N.A.A.C.P. Merit Medal for the most outstanding work within the Association.

Evans, R. D., is a lawyer at Waco, Tex., where he has been practising his profession since 1912. He is a graduate of Prairie View college in Texas and of the Howard university law school. Mr. Evans tried the first white primary case in his state in February, 1919 in Waco, and secured an injunction perpetually enjoining the City Democratic Executive Committee from barring Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary. He also carried the first white primary case to the United States Supreme Court, Love vs. Griffith, 266 U. S. 12. It was after Mr. Evans' fight on the white primary law in his state that the N.A.A.C.P. came to his rescue and won two cases in the United States Supreme Court arising in El Paso, Tex. Mr. Evans is a member of the National Bar Association and has held all the offices except president, and declined the nomination for that at two conventions, one at St. Louis and the other in Baltimore.

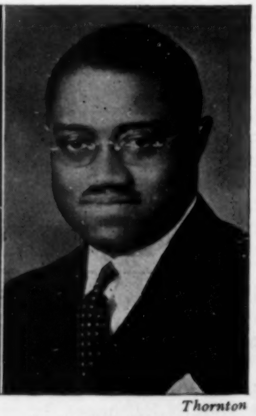
Fenderson, Mrs. Grace Baxter, is a native of Newark, N. J., a product of the Newark school system and a teacher in the public schools of that city for a number of years. Born of militant parents, her keen interest in racial, humane and civic activities is but the fulfillment of a prized heritage. Her parents, the late James M. and Pauline L. Mars Baxter, are remembered for their ardent battles along similar lines. Mr. Baxter, principal of one of Newark's schools, was responsible for breaking down the bars that had kept Catholics

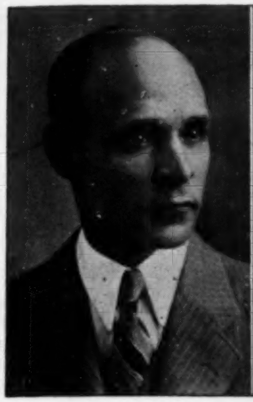
Bachrach
William N. DeBerry
Springfield, Mass.

Fairchild
Arthur W. Little
New York City

Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson
Newark, N. J.

Sidney R. Redmond
St. Louis, Mo.

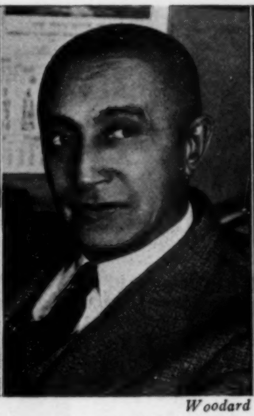

Thornton
Joseph W. Nicholson
Chicago, Ill.



L. H. Lightner
Denver, Colo.

R. D. Evans
Waco, Tex.

Miss L. Pearl Mitchell
Cleveland, O.



Woodard

Roscoe Dunjee
Oklahoma City, Okla.

A. T. Walden
Atlanta, Ga.

and Negroes from attending the Newark high school. Mrs. Fenderson has followed closely in the footsteps of her parents. Early in her life the urge to carry on became manifest. She has been president and treasurer of the Newark branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and director of the Junior branch. She was active with the Anti-Lynching Crusades under the late Mrs. Mary Talbert, later becoming president of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Circle. She is a director of the New Jersey Conference of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and a member of the boards of the Newark branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Sojourner Truth branch of the Y.W.C.A.

Lightner, Lawrence H., is a native of Texas, although he has lived in Denver, Colorado, since 1911. He was graduated from Samuel Houston college and served for one year as assistant principal of the colored high school in Waxahachie, Tex. For three years he was bookkeeper and bursar at Samuel Houston college, resigning in 1911 to accept the office of supreme clerk of the American Woodmen Fraternal Insurance company. Mr. Lightner is actively identified with all civic and religious affairs of the city of Denver, having held responsible positions in many of the outstanding organizations. He is a member of the World Service Commission and General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1926 he was a representative from the Western Region to the World Conference of the Y.M.C.A. which convened at Helsingfors, Finland. As present Supreme Commander of the American Woodmen Fraternal Insurance company, Mr. Lightner has been warmly congratulated upon the progressive nature of his administration.

Little, Colonel Arthur W., has long been a resident of New York City. He is a distinguished citizen and is widely known for his service with New York's famous 369th Infantry in the World War. Although far beyond the draft age, Mr. Little enlisted as a private in the World War, and because of his long-time National Guard service was soon promoted to the rank of captain and assigned to New York's famous colored combat regiment. After three months of service as Company Commander, Captain Little became Regimental Adjutant and Chief of Staff to Colonel William Hayward, the brilliant war-time Commander of Harlem's Hell Fighters. Nine months later Captain Little was promoted to the command of the 1st Battalion and as Major he served through all the fighting. For a number of short periods he served as Regimental Commander. As a result of this service, which included four major actions of the eleven credited to U. S. troops, Major Little received 4 Croix de Guerre (2 with palms, 1 Gold Star, 1 Silver Star). He was awarded the decoration of the Legion of Honor. He was awarded the decoration of the Commander of the Black Star (L'Etoile Noire). Retired as Major, he was called back to service as Colonel of his regiment, serving for a number of years. Colonel Little is a direct descendant of Rev. John Robinson, the pastor of the Mayflower Pilgrims at the time of their departure from England. He is chairman of the board of directors of the business founded by his father, J. J. Little, the J. J. Little and Ives Company, printers and bookbinders.

Mitchell, Miss L. Pearl, has lived and worked in Cleveland, O. for the past twelve years, where she is an investigator and probation officer for the juvenile court. Miss Mitchell is the daughter of S. T. Mitchell, former president of Wilberforce university. She is a graduate of Wilberforce and has done post-graduate work at Oberlin conservatory. After teaching in Illinois, she entered the field of social work, and under War Camp Community Service was assigned to Des Moines, Iowa. Later she was the director of Douglas Community Center at Kalamazoo, Mich. Miss Mitchell has been interested in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. for many years and has served as the president of the Cleveland branch for a number of years, resigning recently because of the press of other duties. She is a member of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, of which she has been national president. She is also a member of the Gilpin Players in Cleveland.

Nicholson, Rev. Joseph William, is the minister of the Jubilee C.M.E. Temple in Chicago, Ill. He is thirty-four years of age and received his B.S. degree from Howard university, his bachelor of divinity degree from Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, Ill., and his doctor of philosophy degree from Northwestern university. He was formerly an instructor in Philander Smith college, Little Rock, Ark. The Rev. Dr. Nicholson is the Director of Religious Education of the Southeast Missouri and Illinois Annual Conference of the C.M.E. Church; member of the executive committee of the Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P.; member of the executive committee, Douglas Division of the Boy Scouts of America in Chicago; member of the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity; chairman of the scholarship committee, Howard Alumni Association, Chicago; Secretary-Editor of RACES, of the National Forum; contributtng editor of the *Negro Journal of Religion;* co-author, "The Negro's Church," (Mays and Nicholson) published by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1933; author, "An Occupational Study of the Christian Ministry among Negroes."

Redmond, Sidney R., is one of the prominent young attorneys of St. Louis, Mo., and he has been active in N.A.A.C.P. work for a number of years. He was born July 23, 1902 in Jackson, Miss., and was graduated from Talladega, Ala., high school. He was graduated from Harvard college and Harvard law school and has practised law for nine years. He is grand attorney for the Knights of Pythias of Missouri and has been chair-

(*Continued on page 90*)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

$2,000 Received From 1935 Christmas Seal Sale

AS THE CRISIS goes to press, the total receipts from the N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seal Sale of 1935 have passed the record-smashing mark of $2,000.

While the results from the seal effort this year establish a new precedent, at the same time they are a tribute to the interest, loyalty, and faithful support of over 150 individual workers and chairmen of Branch Christmas seal committees who sold the seals to members and interested friends of the Association throughout the United States and Europe.

The most outstanding record made among Christmas seal chairmen was that of Mrs. Josiah Diggs, of the Baltimore, Md., branch. With a zeal and enthusiasm that was infectious, Mrs. Diggs, well-known figure in the civic, educational and social circles of her city, plunged into the selling of Christmas seals, coming out with a total of $187.95. She designated the week of December 8-15 as N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seal Week in Baltimore. Members of her committee, included Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the branch, Mesdames Florence L. Snowden, Virginia Kiah, Vivian Marshall, Argenia Jefferson, Flounda Kelly, Minnie Smith, George Mitchell, Misses Eugenia Hardy and Dorothy Smith, stood in the lobbies of theatres, braving the cold, to sell N.A.A.C.P. seals. More were sold after church services on Sunday mornings in leading churches. Business firms, city officials, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker—all were solicited in this city-wide sale led by Mrs. Diggs who personally sold over $110 worth of seals.

Mrs. Celeste Sampson, well known in the social and civic circles of New York City was selected the chairman of the seal committee of the New York branch at a late date. However, she did not let the lack of time daunt her. With the cooperation of Mrs. Jennie Johnson, Mrs. William Pickens, and Mrs. Zora Fouche, the members of the committee, she solicited professional and business men and women in Harlem. Many of the firms, white as well as colored, conducting business in Harlem, were sold N.A.A.C.P. seals. Because of her personal determination, initiative and charm, which secured for her the cooperation of her many friends, in three weeks she had piled up the second highest total from chairmen, $121.80.

MRS. JOSIAH DIGGS
Chairman, Baltimore Seal Sale
She led the country

The next highest record was made by Mrs. Laura P. Carson, daughter-in-law of the nationally known surgeon, Dr. Simeon L. Carson, who was selected by the District of Columbia branch as chairman of its seal committee. Mrs. Carson, though busy teaching school most of the day, gave freely of her evening leisure hours to put over the sale in Washington. The faculties and students of Howard university and Miner Teachers' college were among the sources of seal sales in Washington. As a result, Mrs. Carson swiftly gained a total of $68.50.

A splendid sale was put over by Mrs. Emma Freeman, chairman of the seal committee of the Mobile, Alabama branch. Her sales knew no color line. Through the sheer force of her ability she succeeded in persuading white as well as colored insurance companies to buy ten and five dollars worth of seals. With the cooperation of J. L. LeFlore, branch secretary, she was able to reach the high level of $60.38 for Mobile.

Special and honorable mention must be made of the fine work of H. A. Greene who in Plaquemine, La., sold $50.79 worth of seals; Mrs. Aria Carson in Newport, R. I., who succeeded in having city officials purchase seals and made a report of $43.10; Mrs. Ruth Carey, Cleveland, O., $33.30; Mrs. Isabelle Winton Brown, Indianapolis, Ind., $29.50; and J. J. Green, Birmingham, Ala., $25.

Splendid work was done by the junior branch of Brooklyn, N. Y., under the leadership of Walter Lawrence, who reported $15. Miss Loretta E. Owens, secretary of the junior branch of St. Louis, Mo., sent in a report of $10.25. The Cleveland, O., junior branch aided Mrs. Ruth Carey, the junior branch chairman, to sell seals, and reported $14.

A large number of seals were sold through the national office to insurance companies; the presidents and principals of universities, colleges, normal schools and high schools; members of interracial bodies, such as the Writers' League Against Lynching, Swarthmore Institute of Race Relations, Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P.; and the many friends who wrote in asking for seals.

It will be remembered that Joe Louis, the sensational young boxer, paused in the midst of his training at Pompton Lakes, N. J., early in December, to buy a large number of N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Governor Herbert Lehman of New York, Clarence Darrow, noted criminal lawyer, Sinclair Lewis, internationally known author, and Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, were among noted citizens who purchased the seals.

The nation-wide sale was directed from the national office by Miss Juanita E. Jackson, who joined the staff in September, 1935, as special assistant to the secretary.

Following is a list of the Christmas Seal Chairmen who gave close cooperation in the promotion of the sale, with amounts raised:

$187.95, Mrs. Sarah F. Diggs, Baltimore, Md.; $121.80, Mrs. Celeste Sampson, New York City; $68.50, Mrs. Laura P. Carson, Washington, D. C.; $60.38, Mrs. Emma Freeman, Mobile, Ala.; $50.79, H. A. Greene, Plaquemine, La.; $43, Mrs. Aria Carson, Newport, R. I.; $33.30, Mrs. Ruth Carey, Cleveland, O.; $29.50, Mrs. Isabelle Winton Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; $25, Mrs. J. J. Green, Birmingham, Ala.; $21, Mrs. Bessie S. Etherly, Louisville, Ky.; $20.10, Robert Armfield, Springfield, Mass.; $20, R. L. Witherspoon, St. Louis, Md.; $15, Mrs. L. Woods, Bridgeport-Stratford, Conn.; $19, Walter Lawrence, Youth Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y., Mrs. A. McClanahan, Monroe, La.; $18.50, R. E. Weems, Allegheny Valley, Pa.; $18.49, Cecil Cox, Camden, N. J.; $18, Miss Marguerite Taylor, Rochester, N. Y.; $17.06, Mrs. Daisy Johnson, Plainfield, N. J.; $17.05, Miss Hortense Thomas, Bayonne, N. J.; $16, Miss Marion L. Southerland, Durham, N. C., Miss Estelle J. M. Felton, Albany, N. Y., Misses E. B. Ivy and M. L. Larkin, Meridian, Miss.; $15, C. E. Fletcher, Galesburg, Ill.; $14, Miss Jamie Watson, Seattle, Wash.; $12, Miss Justine Spencer, Roanoke, Va.; $10.91, Mrs. Rose Walton, Richmond, Va.; $10.25, Miss Loretta E. Owens, Junior Branch, St. Louis, Mo., and $10, Miss Willie May Madus.

$9.50, Mrs. Myrtle McDonald, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; $9.25, Mrs. Guy Copes, Auburn, N. Y.; $9, Catharine W. Scorggins, Paris, Ky.; $8.97, Prof. W. A. Perry (Dunbar School, Tucson, Ariz.; $8.25, Mrs. Alethia Alexander, East Orange, N. J.; $8.02, Mrs. Ruth Nicholson, Stamford, Conn.; $8, Miss Atha Reeves, Chickasha, Okla., Mrs. Carrie Johnson, Staten Island, N. Y., Mrs. Marie T. Coles, Duluth, Minn.; $7.50, J. Lincoln Brown, Daytona Beach, Fla.; $7.69, Mrs. Lucille S. Edwards, Omaha, Neb.; $6.50, Mrs. J. J. Turner, Montgomery, W. Va.; $6.47, Mrs. S. C. Manon, Newton, Kans.; $6, J. E. Turner, Logan, W. Va., Miss Jean Jones, Topeka, Kans., Mr. T. A. Johnson, Statesville, N. Car.; Miss Evelyn Hickman, Newark, O., Mrs. Lottie B. Hightower, Pittsburg, Pa., Mrs. E. E. Sander, Casper, Wyo.; $5.62, Dr. C. T. Hill, Rahway, N. J.; $5.05, Miss Florence Davis, Johnstown, Pa.; $5, N. W. Griffin, St. Petersburg, Fla., N. J. Henderson, Bloomington, Ill., Miss Jo Estelle Van Dyke, Decatur, Ill., Mrs. California Taylor Turner, Boley, Okla., Mrs. Carrie Burley, Rockaway, N. Y.; $4.80, Miss Doris Pettyjohn, Providence, R. I.; $4.61, Mr. James Jackson, Uniontown, Pa.; $4.39, Miss Henrietta Brown, Adah, Pa.; $4.30, Miss Mildred Kimbrough, Springfield, Mo.; $4.20, Mrs. Louise Mason, Evanston, Ill.; $4.05, Mrs. Ila Griffin, Brevard City, Fla.; $4.04, Miss Miriam Magill, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; $4, Jamaica Branch, Leroy King, Port Huron, Mich., Mrs. Harvey Mitchell, Sioux Falls, S. D., Mrs. Bessie Smith, Scranton, Pa., San Antonio, Tex., and Willow Grove, Pa.

$3.92, Mrs. Blossie Adams, Monrovia, Calif.; $3.86, Mrs. M. L. Smith, Portsmouth, O.; $3.46, Mrs. Fannie Randolph, McKeesport, Pa.; $3.31, Mrs. Ruth Belle Brown, Albany, Ga.; $3.30, Mrs. Ada Smith, Rome, Ga.; $3.17, Mrs. C. A. Anthony, Ames, Ia.; $3.15, L. K. Smith, Lincoln, Neb.; $3.10, Mrs. H. L. Porter, Little Rock, Ark.; $3.13, Misses Addie Lang and Adelaide Moorehead, Maysville, Ky.; $3, William Lowe, Drumright, Okla., Dr. C. C. Hubbard, Lincoln High School, Sedalia, Mo., John T. Letts, Lansing, Mich., Miss Anna E. Taylor, New Castle, Pa.; $2.99, Harrison Hobson, Bryn Mawr, Pa., $2.88, Cleveland Jordan, El Paso, Tex.; $2.50, Miss Elise Lenoir, New Orleans, La., Mrs. G. W. Waddy, French Lick, Ind., Walter Austin, Stockton, Calif.; $2.22, Mrs. Arnette Moore, East St. Louis, Ill.; $2.08, Mrs. Ann McBee, Beacon, N. Y.; $2, Mrs. Elizabeth Buckner, Kansas City, Kans., Miss Dorothy U. Norris, Petersburg, Va., Mrs. Carrie Pharr, Concord, N. C., Bertye Beth Askins, Arkansas City, Kans., Horace A. Wright, Pittsfield, Mass., Mrs. Annie Sykes, Alliance, O., J. E. Gipson, Como, Miss.; $1.77, J. R. Edwards, Massillon, O.; $1.70, Mrs. Viola Turyman, Midland, Pa., $1.60, the Rev. Edward Knox, Guernsey Branch, Cambridge, O., and $1.50, Mrs. Bertha McWhorter, Worcester, Mass.

MRS. CELESTE SAMPSON
Chairman, New York Seal Sale

Among the individuals who volunteered to sell seals of their own accord are:

Mrs. J. E. Briggs, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C., $10; Mrs. L. W. Curlin, Dunbar Elementary School, Miami, Fla., $7; Maxine Randolph, Girl Reserves of Oklahoma City, Okla., $6; B. L. Jordan, Southern Aid Society, Richmond, Va., $5; Wm. M. Duerson, K.O.H. Club, $3.01; W. J. Trent, Jr., Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., $2.50; Mrs. Narvie Punfoy White, Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C., Miss Catharine Freeland, New York City and Mrs. Katie Campbell, Epworth League of Lane Tabernacle, C.M.E. Church, St. Louis, Mo., $2.

Additional totals, too late for this issue, will be printed next month.

High Court Orders Maryland U. Opened

On January 15, 1936, the Circuit Court of Appeals of Maryland handed down an opinion affirming the decision of the Baltimore City Court that the Law School of the University of Maryland be directed to admit Donald Gaines Murray, a Negro student, to its classes. The court held that the state was obligated to furnish equal facilities to white and colored students, and that since no law school was provided for the training of Negro students, they would have to be admitted to the Law School of the University of Maryland.

This suit was the first one filed in the campaign of the N.A.A.C.P. to secure equal educational facilities in separate school systems. The original argument was made by Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., who had associated with him Thurgood Marshall of Baltimore. The second suit of this nature was filed later in January against the University of Missouri, in order to secure the entrance to its law school of Lloyd Gaines. The University of Missouri case was filed by Mr. Houston, with Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis as associate counsel.

Mr. Gaines was born in Lafayette County in Mississippi March 10, 1911, but his family moved to St. Louis when he was quite small in order to secure better educational opportunities for the children. Lloyd was graduated *summa cum laude* from Vashon high school June 10, 1931. Between 1931 and 1935 he was an honor student at Stowe Teachers college, St. Louis, and Lincoln university in Jefferson City, Mo. He lives with his mother, Mrs. Callie S. Gaines, at 3932 West Belle Place, St. Louis. Not only did young Gaines have an excellent scholastic record, but he was prominent in extra-curricular activities. He was a member of the Junior N.A.A.C.P., associate editor of the school journal, member of the debating team, president of the honor society, and vice-president of the senior class. He finished high school in three years and college in three and a half years, and won a prize of $250 for the best essay from seniors of the St. Louis colored high schools on the topic, "U. S. Government Inspection of Meat." He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Virginia Makes a Move Toward Graduate Study

The State Board of Education of Virginia has authorized the establishment of a graduate department at Virginia State College at Petersburg, but has made no provision for financing the same or designating its size.

The action of the State Board of Education is a direct outcome of agitation by colored people of the state, led by the Richmond branch of the N.A.A.C.P., for graduate and professional training for Negro students at state expense. Several students have applied for admission to the University of Virginia graduate school. Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch, characterized the action of the State Board of Education as "just a move to offset our efforts to have the University of Virginia admit a Negro graduate student."

President J. M. Gandy of Virginia State college stated that if a graduate department is established at his school, it would require three additional buildings, a library with an adequate collection of books, a laboratory with proper equipment, and a building for classrooms and administration offices. There also would be required additions to the present faculty of a number of professors with advanced degrees prepared to offer graduate instruction.

Pickets at Borah Meeting

When Senator William E. Borah of Idaho spoke in Brooklyn, N. Y., Tuesday night, January 28, opening his campaign for nomination for President, he was greeted by 50 pickets who carried signs criticising his stand on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

The pickets, who were members of the Brooklyn junior branch of the N.A.A.C.P., the Harlem branch, the Youth Council of Abyssinian Baptist church, and the Rev. T. S. Harten's Holy Trinity Baptist church, braved a biting wind in the below-freezing temperature in order to let the Senator and the Republican party know how colored people felt about Mr. Borah's views on lynching. Also assisting in the picketing were a few members of a Young Socialist group in Brooklyn. Prominent among the pickets was Ben Johnson, Columbia sprint star.

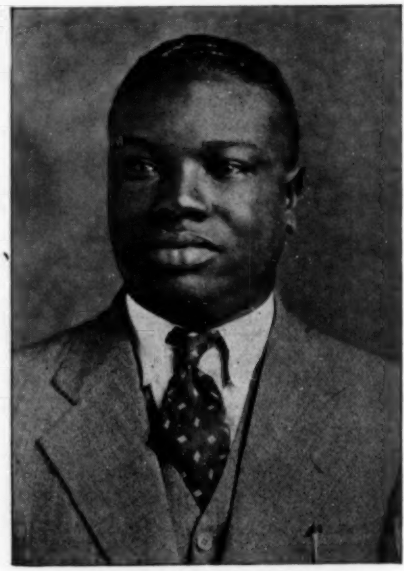
Some of the signs were designed by Aaron Douglas, famous artist and mural painter, and by Romare Bearden, well known young cartoonist. Among the legends on the placards were: "Borah Talks While Lynchers Lynch." "How About Lynching, Senator Borah?," "94 Women Lynched, Yet Borah Opposes Federal Law," "The States Have Not Stopped Lynching," "Stop Lynch Terror, Remember Scottsboro." The placards designed by Mr. Douglas showed a Negro being lynched, with the legend "Borah Opposes a Federal Law to Stop This."

The pickets also distributed 2,500 leaflets, which stated briefly the facts about lynching and quoted the 14th Amendment to the Constitution: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Senator Borah devoted about one-third of his speech to lynching and anti-lynching legislation. During this portion of his speech he was heckled by colored people in the audience, who asked him persistent questions, some of which he turned to one side without answering. He stated that the kidnaping law was constitutional because it dealt with interstate crime, but he kept silent on the fact that at least one lynching in 1935 and one in 1934 were interstate crimes and the federal government took no action under the kidnaping law.

Van Nuys Resolution Is Reported Favorably

The resolution introduced by Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana providing for the investigation of the lynchings of 1935 which took place after May 1 by a senate committee was reported out favorably by the judiciary committee February 11. As reported out the resolution does not set a time limit in which the committee must report as did the original draft. The sum of $7,500 was suggested for the used of the committee, but this sum will have to be approved by the audit committee of the senate.



H. A. GREENE
Chairman, Plaquemine, La., Seal Sale

Scottsboro Case

The Scottsboro Defense Committee promoted the holding of mass meetings throughout the country on January 26, or on dates close to that date. Only a selected number of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. were asked to cooperate, and of this number the following cities held joint Scottsboro meetings with local representatives in their cities of the organizations comprising the Scottsboro Defense Committee: Detroit, Pittsburgh, Newark, N. J., Jamaica, N. Y., New York City, New Orleans and Cleveland. The Brooklyn branch held its joint meeting February 21. The Los Angeles, Chicago and Philadelphia branches are to hold Scottsboro meetings of their own in the near future.

Groups Seek to End High School Congestion

Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond, Va., branch, is chairman of a committee of representatives from other Richmond organizations which has as its purpose the consideration of possible legal action to compel school authorities to provide adequate additional facilities to relieve the congestion at Armstrong high school in Richmond. The committee met January 20 at the Urban League. Representatives of the following organizations were present: Urban League, Baptist Ministers Conference, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Armstrong Parent-Teachers Association, Astoria Beneficial Club, Colored Democratic League and the N.A.A.C.P.

Branch News

Elisha Scott, well-known lawyer, was installed as president of the **Topeka, Kan.,** branch January 19. Other officers are: Mrs. Ladie Hutton, first vice-president; Dr. Charles R. Price, second vice-president; Mrs. Charles W. French, secretary; Miss Jean Jones, assistant secretary; Mrs. E. R. Wallace, treasurer; and Dr. W. A. Jones, Dr. M. L. Ross, John M. Wright, Mrs. Ella M. Guy and the Rev. T. J. Burwell, members of the executive board.

The branch appointed James H. Hare, Mrs. Ella Guy, Mrs. E. R. Wallace, Dr. M. L. Ross, Elisha Scott, Charles C. Lytle and Ezekial Ridley as representatives to attend the funeral of Mrs. Grace Sawyer, a resident of Topeka, who died in St. Louis January 15. Mrs. Sawyer was an active worker in the association for many years and under her direction the membership committee achieved the largest paid up membership that it has had in the past ten years. President Scott called his first meeting of the executive committee January 24.

The **Atlanta, Ga.,** branch sponsored an Emancipation mass meeting January 12 at Bethel A.M.E. Church.

Herman Pekarsky was the principal speaker at the regular monthly meeting of the **Grand Rapids, Mich.,** branch January 19. Mrs. Mary Mayberry arranged the program. John G. Shackelford is president.

Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office staff spoke at a meeting January 19 of the Women's Auxiliary of the **Orange, N. J.,** branch. Mrs. Cora W. Johnson is president and Mrs. Blanche E. Thompson is secretary.

The **Henry Co., Ind.,** branch met January 5 and made plans for the Indiana State Conference. The Conference which was scheduled to be held in New Castle, Ind., January 24–26 was shifted to Kokomo, but the sub-zero weather and heavy blizzard resulted in the indefinite postponement of the meeting.

Dean William Pickens, director of branches, addressed a meeting of the **Massillon, O.,** branch January 8. Dean Pickens also spoke before the Rotary Club of Toledo, O., January 6 on "Ethiopia and the European Powers."

The **Toledo, O.,** branch met January 20 for the purpose of mapping out the annual membership campaign. E. G. Wade is chairman of the committee.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin of Pittsburgh, national field secretary, was the principal speaker at a meeting held by the **Canton, O.,** branch January 16. The meeting was a protest against lynching. Mrs. Lampkin was introduced by A. A. Andrews, president of the Ohio State Conference of branches. John Z. Smith, president of the Canton branch, presided.

Judge E. D. Fritch delivered an address on the anti-lynching law for the **Akron, O.,** branch on January 12. Emmer Lancaster is president of the branch.

The **Lynchburg, Va.,** branch, as a preliminary to its annual membership campaign, held group meetings for members in various sections of the city. This procedure was suggested by E. A. Bondurant, assistant secretary of the branch. The branch believes that these district meetings will enable more members to be enrolled in the campaign.

The **McKeesport, Pa.,** branch installed Dr Joseph Randall as its new president January 12. Other officers and members of the executive committee who were installed include Arlington Pryor, vice-president; Clarence Waters, secretary; and Mrs. C. E. Kidd, treasurer. James T. Downs heads the executive committee, composed of officers and William Jordan Thompson, the Rev. E. L. Lofton, Mrs. Fannie Steel and Mrs. Mildred Peyton. The Rev. J. F. C. Green of the German Congregational Church was the main speaker.

The **Chester, Pa.,** branch installed the following officers January 7: E. Carter Grasty, president; Dr. William Brody, vice-president; Miss Emma Bell, recording secretary; Mrs. Ada Griffin, corresponding secretary and Mrs. Anne Wright, treasurer.

The following officers were installed at formal exercises held by the **New Castle, Pa.,** branch January 17: Mrs. Blanche Dillard, president; Thomas Farrow, first vice-president; Berl Hall, second vice-president; Anna E. Taylor, secretary; Henrietta Davis, assistant secretary and Dr. G. W. Garnett, treasurer.

The executive committee members are: Miss Rosa V. Brown, Dr. James A. Gillespie, Messrs. Horace Bradley, Walter Smith, John B. Campbell, R. T. Mitchell, Berl Hall, James McCarthy and William Howard. Mrs. Thelma Stewart sang a solo and James A. Gillespie gave a talk. The officers were installed by Dr. C. M. Colden of Aliquippa, Pa., who is a member of the board of directors of the Pennsylvania State Conference of branches.

The Rev. C. L. Franklin of Tarrytown addressed the **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch at its monthly meeting January 19.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch through Dr. Leon W. Scott, president, has secured the promise of the Adult Education Department to conduct a course in Negro history if a sufficient number of persons apply for it.

The **Springfield, Mass.,** branch at its regular meeting January 8 had as its speaker Mrs. Mary D. Otis, director of the Bureau of Old Age Assistance of the Welfare Department. Mrs. Otis spoke on "Old Age Assistance in Massachusetts."

The **Newport, R. I.,** branch sponsored an appropriate celebration of Lincoln-Douglass Birthdays and Negro History Week. New officers were installed January 16 as follows: Leroy Williams, president; Jerry Coats, vice-president; Linwood Faison, treasurer; Frances King, secretary; J. A. Bailey, assistant secretary. Members of the executive board: Matthew Wallace, Richard W. King, Mr. and Mrs. James Carson, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Tolbert, James H. Burney, Miss Deon Jackson and Mrs. Florence M. Jackson.

Mrs. Carson reported $43.10 raised by a Christmas benefit sale. She was appointed chairman of the program committee. The branch voted to write again to each congressman and senator from Rhode Island urging favorable consideration of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

The annual meeting of the **District of Columbia** branch at which officers were elected and reports from committee chairmen were received was held January 17.

The Rev. Dr. William N. DeBerry, of Springfield, Mass., newly elected member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., spoke on "Interracial Problems" at a meeting of the Springfield Bellamy Society, January 11.

The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch heard an address on "Why We Fail" by E. B. Wilson at its regular meeting January 19. The junior division of the branch met January 18 at the home of Mrs. N. J. Asberry.

The junior division of the **Morristown, N. J.,** branch met January 24 with Miss Pettie Pinkman. Papers were read on the lives of James Weldon Johnson and Frederick Douglass.

The **Hartford, Conn.,** branch met January 14. Solon Taylor, Jr., the new president of the branch led a discussion of the year's program.

MRS. EMMA FREEMAN
Chairman, Mobile, Ala., Seal Sale

Dr. Harry S. Blackiston of Stowe Teachers College spoke on "A Modern Example of Imperialism" at a meeting of the **St. Louis, Mo.,** branch January 3. The branch maintains a regular office in the People's Finance Building and issues a quarterly bulletin which serves as a link between the branch and the members. Charles H. Houston, special counsel from the New York office, was a speaker at a mass meeting January 21. The branch is inaugurating a membership drive February 20.

The **San Diego, Calif.,** branch had as its principal speaker on January 14 Raymond Keck, world traveler, who has lived for sometime in Ethiopia.

The officers of the **Providence, R. I.,** branch for 1936 are: Joseph G. LeCount, president; Walter E. Gladding, first vice-president; the Rev. Richard McKinney, second vice-president; Charles S. Beaubian, third vice-president; James Mabray, secretary, and Miss Roberta J. Dunbar, treasurer. The members of the executive board are: W. P. H. Freeman, J. M. Stockett, Jr., Ashby Smith, Miss Anna A. Lewis, Mrs. Florence V. Lopez, Mrs. Phyllis McKinney and Dr. George E. Bynum.

The **New Orleans, La.,** branch of which James E. Gayle is president, cooperated with other organizations identified with the Scottsboro Defense Committee in holding a mass meeting on Sunday, January 26 at the Mount Zion M.E. Church. Speakers at the meeting were R. Dickinson of the I.L.D., Bishop Robert E. Jones of the M.E. Church, the Rev. W. T. Handy, pastor of the Mount Zion M.E. Church, Dr. C. May of the Mental Hygiene Association and James E. Gayle, president of the New Orleans N.A.A.C.P. branch.

The Illinois State Conference of branches under the leadership of President Irvin C. Mollison conducted during the last two months of 1935 a concentrated drive for memberships in all branches in the city. With the beginning of the new year the State Conference announced that it is going to press for memberships throughout the year. Circular letters, annual reports, printed literature and other material is being distributed to branches for their use in conducting membership campaigns.

The **Chicago, Ill.,** branch under President A. C. MacNeal has been conducting a mid-winter program which has included forums as well as a membership campaign. The annual meeting was held January 15 and reports were received from the various committees for the work done during the year. The branch reported that 6,000 applications for various kinds of assistance had been acted upon in the last two and one-half years. The churches were enlisted in spreading the message of the Association.

The **Bakersfield, Calif.,** branch was re-organized at a meeting January 15 presided over by D. D. Hall.

The **Jersey City, N. J.,** branch held its annual banquet and installation of officers January 14 in the Y.W.C.A., 43 Belmont Avenue with an attendance of about one hundred persons. The guest speaker was the Rev. W. P. Hayes of Newark. Charles Carter, head of the legal redress committee, also spoke. Among the out of town members were: Dr. Baxter, president of the Morris County branch; Dr. Graddick of the Morris County legal committee; Herbert Jones, Chatham; Miss L. C. Heathers, Madison; Mrs. Susie Graddick, Morristown. Another speaker was Mrs. Bertell Wright, executive secretary of the Y.W.C.A. Mrs. Susie McCants rendered music. The following officers were installed: R. E. P. Dixon, president; Dr. James R. Stroud, the Rev. Kirkpatrick and Mrs. Ida E. Brown, vice-presidents; Mrs. J. F. Fownes and Mrs. L. Williams, secretaries and J. French, treasurer.

The **Savannah, Ga.,** branch held its first meeting of the year January 19 at which the Rev. J. Wycliffe Keller delivered the principal address.

The **Media, Pa.,** branch had as principal speaker on January 7, Benjamin F. Whitson of the Society of Friends. His subject was "Social Betterment." George E. Summerville, the president, presided, and Clifford I. Moat, secretary, reported on his attendance of the national meeting in New York. Robert G. Fields, former president of the branch, also spoke. Mrs. Margaret LeBue, Frederick Randolph and Chesterfield Moat gave musical numbers. Other officers of the Media branch are: Vice-president, Grant Freeman; assistant secretary, Frederick Randolph, and secretary, Grant Tefarro, Sr.

The **Newark, N. J.,** branch held its installation services January 16.

The **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch adopted a resolution January 19 protesting the candidacy of Senator Wm. E. Borah for president. The Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority of West Virginia College had charge of the program for the January 19 meeting.

The **Saginaw, Mich.,** branch met January 12.

The **Scranton, Pa.,** branch met January 6 with Mrs. Zenobia Dorsey, president, presiding.

Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, former president of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch, and now member of the national board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., was a speaker January 8 for the Harbor Business and Professional Girls Club of Ashland, O.

Chester Gillespie, Esq., one of the attorneys in the Doris Weaver case, who has been active in N.A.A.C.P. work in Ohio, was elected recently as president of the **Cleveland, O.,** branch.

The **Steubenville, O.,** branch has been conducting an investigation into the charge that the Bell Telephone Company in Steubenville is overcharging Negroes.

The **Brevard County, Fla.,** branch sponsored a county-wide emancipation celebration at Cocoa on January 1. At 11:30 a. m. a big parade was formed under the direction of Messrs. Dennis Sawyer and Nick Ford. The program was held at St. Paul Baptist church. The Rev. H. B. Barkley, pastor of Allen Chapel A.M.E. church, Daytona Beach, Fla., delivered the address. Music was furnished by the glee clubs of the Cocoa and Titusville high schools, and the Rev. B. T. Greene, soloist. A big free dinner was served at 3:30 p. m. A series of basketball games marked the close of the day. Much credit is due the local committee headed by Messrs. J. E. Gilbert, M. J. Monroe, Van Wishonant, and W. D. Monroe for the manner in which they entertained. The branch is planning another celebration in honor of Negro History Week.

WARNING TO BRANCHES

Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. are warned that a man giving the name of C. W. Covington has no authority from the national office or from any branch to solicit memberships or contributions for the Association. This man is familiar with N.A.A.C.P. work and is able to talk intelligently upon the machinery of the Association, but he should not be given any money or allowed to collect money in the name of any branch.

Book Review

WAR: NO PROFIT, NO GLORY, NO NEED by Norman Thomas. 234 pp. Stokes, New York. $1.50.

Since the closing of the World War, nations have concentrated on methods of preventing a more intensified repetition of the atrocities that took place between 1914–1918. Much literature has been written and many movements inaugurated the purpose of which has been to crystallize a mass opinion against future war. The imperialistic attack of Mussolini on Ethiopia has but focused more acutely the minds of the people on a situation that if not handled carefully might smolder into a conflagration of world wide importance. Out of the present tension regarding war has grown several recently published volumes including *War: No Profit, No Glory, No Need* by Norman Thomas, the spirited leader of the Socialist Party. In his latest work the author traces intelligently those motivations that lead to war and suggests what to him is the most effective procedure to eradicate war at least for America if not for the world.

The hypocrisy behind America's participation in the World War is more evident after reflecting back on the events in a detached mood. Soldiers urged on by mass hysteria and cleverly arranged propaganda were deluded into the belief that they were going to make the world safe for democracy and that this war was to end all wars. It did not take them long to learn they were pawns in a war fought to save the economic security of a few. Frequently, they were ingloriously sacrificed by some selfish commander in order to bring about personal advancement. From their horrible experiences these soldiers developed warped emotions, shattered lives, sexual madness, and a cynicism and bitterness toward life in general. The only worthwhile results were the friendships and instinctive bonds of fellowship that transcended nationalistic barriers. Similarly, people at home through high pressured salesmanship went through meatless, sugarless, and many other-less days in order that they also might have a part in the glorious victory. The purchase of liberty bonds and finally a willing sacrifice of loved ones all indicated a true patriot. Those more commercially interested rejoiced in the wartime wages and hoped the conflict would not end too soon. The righteousness of the cause to both the soldiers and the people at home was kept alive through the government's "dissemination of these lies in order to keep the mass hysteria at sufficient pitch to support the tragic insanity of mass murder."

Why nations should continue to encourage warfare when the gain is negligible, cannot be understood by Mr. Thomas. One of the oldest motivations for war has been a desire for freedom and acquisition of territory. But according to the author, history has as yet to establish the legality of claims of warfare under such circumstances. No one can justify previous wars on the basis that conditions obtained after each war have proved more beneficial to mankind than those that would have existed if the old system had continued. Equally fallacious is the idea that war is part of the evolutionary theory of the survival of the fittest. "In the evolutionary process it is true that nature appears 'red of tooth and claw,' but the cruelty of nature among animals is more merciful than the cruelty of men to one another in war. Animals do not prove to one another their fitness to survive by organized warfare upon those of their own species." Opposed to the older reasons for creating war is the more modern one concerned with economic gains. Despite the millions that the late war poured into the laps of some, the estimated grand total cost of the war, $337,946,179,657 was too great a price to pay for such small gains. When we add to the monetary cost the killing of the best stock in each country, the irremedial lost to future generations is more readily ascertained.

After proving the complete futility of war Mr. Thomas next offers his preventive measures. He admits at once the difficulty in formulating an effective program, especially, in view of the failures of several worthwhile suggestions previously advanced by others. Notwithstanding, he thinks his five point proposal the most adequate to keep this country out of future conflict. Briefly his suggestions are:

1. An immediate solemn declaration of national policy by the president and Congress that the United States will not supply, or permit its citizens to supply arms, munitions, or financial support to belligerent or prospective belligerents.

2. The largest measure of disarmament that the public can be persuaded to accept.

3. Discontinue the imperialist policies which are a logical product of this stage of capitalism. Let adventurous capital take its own risk abroad if it must.

4. End at once the insult we offer friendly nations—China as well as Japan—by our Asiatic exclusion laws.

5. Isolation from all that makes for war; cooperation with all that makes for peace.

Although each of the enumerated headings is elaborately discussed by the author, readers will scarcely see enough in the proposals to cause them to think that revolutionary opinions regarding war will develop from a study of the same. In fairness to Mr. Thomas it should be stated that he realizes no program, including his own, can effectively operate if the principles are superficially applied. A great factor in the success of his proposals will come through a new education of future generations. An education that will instil advanced attitudes toward economic, social, and national problems will create a basis for the receptivity of changed opinions developed as factors in outlawing war.

Despite the fact that *War: No Profit, No Glory, No Need* has no pretentions toward a pronounced literary expression, it is written effectively in a style characterized by simplicity that makes much technical information intelligible to the average reader. Based on the value of the material included on the general subject of war, the book is a worthwhile addition to the literature whose purpose is dedicated to the abolition of war.

James O. Hopson

New Directors

(*Continued from page* 85)

man of the executive committee of the St. Louis branch of the N.A.A.C.P. for three years. He is the sponsor of the St. Louis branch annual prize for the best oration or essay on some phase of Negro history. He is chief counsel in a suit against the city of St. Louis seeking to abolish segregation in municipally owned property—the municipal auditorium. He is associated with Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P. in New York, in the suit recently instituted to secure the admission of colored students to the Law School of the University of Missouri.

Walden, Austin Thomas, is the senior partner in the law firm of Walden and Henry of Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Walden is a native of Fort Valley, Ga., and received his education at Fort Valley high and industrial school and Atlanta university. He was graduated from the law school of the University of Michigan in 1911 and was admitted to the Georgia bar at Macon in 1912. He practised there until the World War, when he entered the officers' training camp at Des Moines, Ia., and was commissioned a captain of infantry. He served nearly two years in the army and while in France served as assistant judge advocate, of the 92nd Division. He began practice in Atlanta in 1919. He is president of the Citizens Trust company, president of the Atlanta branch of the N.A.A.C.P., president of the Butler Street Y.M.C.A., chairman of the executive committee of the Atlanta Urban League, and chairman of the board of trustees of the Wheat Street Baptist church.

New Bontemps Book

"Black Thunder," a new novel by Arna Bontemps, was published in January by the Macmillan Company. A review of it will appear in The Crisis for April.

Don't Shout

(*Continued from page 79*)

question, no matter how insignificant or how small. We must see that the proper type of Negro literature, pamphlets, newspapers and other material gets the widest possible distribution among white people. We must cooperate in public forums and make ourselves felt in the white press as regular commentators on public affairs. We must persistently agitate for more truth about the Negro in the history, economic and sociology courses in the schools, colleges and universities. We must participate in and share all the conflicts in the main stream of economic and political life of the country. Lastly, we must not forget we have a problem to educate many of our own race brethren to proper American practices and ideals.

Along with this educational process, we must be prepared to fight, if necessary, every step of the way. In Baltimore County, Maryland, despite the decision in the University of Maryland case, the county officials have refused even to consider the request of their Negro citizens for a Negro high school. The whites have eleven high schools in the county; the Negroes none. Yet in 1930, there were 11,764 Negroes in Baltimore County, with 1,453 Negroes between 14 and 20 years of age. The most the county would consider was to pay the tuition and transportation of certain selected Negro graduates of the county elementary schools into the Baltimore City high school. That means that most of the Negro children in Baltimore County are denied a high school education, and those few who do go into the Baltimore City high school are handicapped because they are abruptly thrown into competition with the Baltimore city children who have had the superior advantages of the city grammar schools from the first grade. These Baltimore County citizens have asked the N.A.A.C.P. for aid. It will probably take at least another $2,000 to get them their high school. Figure out that there are 230 counties in the South with a substantial Negro population where no high school facilities are provided for Negroes although every one of the counties has at least one high school for whites, and the cost of litigation alone approximates a half million dollars. Somebody will have to provide more money for the fight to improve grammar school education, school bus transportation, to equalize school terms, teachers' salaries, and so forth.

Once again it bears repeating that this fight for equality of educational opportunity is not an isolated struggle. All our struggles must tie in together and support one another. An example how the Association's anti-lynching fight supports the educational campaign appears in the University of Missouri case. Lloyd L. Gaines filed suit January 24, 1936, in Columbia, Missouri, seeking admission to the School of Law of the University of Missouri. The University of Missouri and its School of Law are located at Columbia. In Columbia on April 28, 1923, James T. Scott, an innocent Negro, was lynched, and reliable information places some University of Missouri students in the lynching mob. Although warned of the impending lynching hours beforehand, the Governor refused to call out the militia to prevent it. Needless to say no one was convicted. It is up to the Association, the citizens of Missouri and the people of the United States to convince the Governor of Missouri, the President and Board of Curators of the University, and the student body, that regardless as to what happened in 1923, there must be no violence when Lloyd Gaines arrives at the School of Law in 1936 or 1937. A broad sympathetic appeal for fair play must be made to the student body of the university. Perhaps when the students realize that Lloyd Gaines' presence will not interfere with their ordinary routine and when they understand some of the hardships and handicaps which Negro boys and girls have to face in an effort to get an education, the spirit of fair play will prevail, and they will willingly consent to Lloyd Gaines' having his chance.

LLOYD L. GAINES
Sues to enter University of Missouri

The University of Maryland case illustrates how these cases incidentally involve the question of Negro suffrage. Are Maryland Negroes going to register and vote in sufficient numbers to prevent the reactionaries from defeating the courageous judges who acted in that case when they come up for reelection? Every one knows how the forces of intolerance defeated Judge Horton for reelection because he dared give one of the Scottsboro boys a new trial. If Negroes had voted extensively in Alabama, they could have prevented Judge Horton's defeat and spared Alabama this shame. Idealism apart, it is a large order for any group of people in a democracy to ask a public official to sacrifice his career in their defense if they are unable to come to his rescue at the polls.

Discrimination in employment and in organized labor is being fought relentlessly by the Association in order to open jobs for Negro youth leaving school. If as Negroes we did no more in this line during the next ten years than to break down the color bar in federal, state and municipal employment and in the public utilities, we would make places for thousands of Negro youth. It is estimated that Negroes in the New York area spend over three million dollars annually with the public utilities for transportation, telephone, heat and light. But there is just a handful of Negro trainmen in the entire transportation system, not a Negro switchboard operator in a telephone exchange, and not a Negro reading a gas or electric meter. New York has a law prohibiting public utilities from discriminating in employment on the ground of race or color, but the trouble is that the law has no teeth in it.

There is no easy road ahead. The fight for equal rights enlists the time, the best efforts and the money of every Negro, and all the Negro's friends. The University of Maryland case is a wedge, but such a little wedge. And if we do not remain on the alert and push the struggle farther with all our might, even this little hole will close upon us. The prescription calls for determination, persistence, brains and money; and we must convince the white people at all times that we are fighting a defensive fight. Maybe the next generation will be able to take time out to rest, but we have too far to go and too much work to do. Shout if you want, but don't shout too soon.

To One Who Is "Passing"

By WESLEY CURTWRIGHT

To you who loved me so well—
To whom to love was to give,
And never to ask—
Loving so passionately,
And kissing so tenderly—
With whom I glimpsed heaven,
And tasted hell—
Greetings!
You were not happy here.
Remember, I wanted you to be happy?
I still do. . . .

Black Belt

(*Continued from page 75*)

wage of one dollar per hundred pounds. During the recent strike, landlords in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi have felt the force of this necessarily underground, but effective, organization. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union extended the strike front to Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Working practically without funds, the membership of both unions are causing the habitually conservative southern agrarian to realize the exultant feeling of power that comes through unity.

The union struck first in Lowndes County, Alabama, during the cotton picking season just ended. Every Negro picker in the county dropped his cotton sack, determined not to work until the just demands of the mass were fulfilled. Emulating his dead and none too wise fellow-officer, Kyle Young, Sheriff R. E. Woodruff organized one of the most murderous lynch mobs in the entire South against the striking croppers. Jim Press Merriweather and Ed Bracy were seized by this mob, and put to death with all the bestial cruelty of southern killers. Twenty other strikers were beaten almost to death, but the union has not been broken in this county. Although the organizers had temporarily to leave the county, they taught their followers well beforehand. And the rate for picking in Lowndes County has increased from 35 cents to 65 cents per hundred pounds.

Even better gains were registered in counties where the union was more strongly organized. In these counties, the price was advanced on many plantations to $1 per hundred for picking. Planters in adjoining counties, where the union was not organized, hastily raised their prices in order to keep the disaffection from spreading. The croppers closed their picking season with some forty thousand dollars added to their incomes, money that otherwise would have been dissipated by their bosses.

Three more croppers, Willie Foster, of Birmingham; Joe Spinner Johnson, of Hale County; and Smith Wadkins, of Hale County, were murdered by the landlords during the struggle. A number of white farmers, supposed to be sympathetic with the union, were also flogged by white-robed klansmen. Three Negroes who have never been identified were found dead in the swamps. Strange to say, Tallapoosa County, the very heart of the union, experienced a minimum of violence. There, the organization is so strong that mere letters of protest have often been sufficient to stop the joint depredations of deputies and ku kluxers. The Tallapoosa County branches have also been able to secure school buses for the transportation of Negro pupils.

Attack Women's Meeting

But a Lowndes County posse even attacked a woman's missionary convention which was being held at Beulah Church, in Notasugla. The women were engaged in a devotional service when a mob of policemen and klansmen, headed by Punch Thompson, a wealthy landlord, entered the building. "All of the damn niggers belong to the union," the inebriated Thompson shouted. "We'll kill a crowd to get the right one."

The women were hit over the head and in the face with brass knuckles. Some of them received permanent scars, and others had the teeth knocked from their mouths. A great many were carried to the hospital, injured for exercising their constitutional right to assemble and worship.

Fearing civil war in the Black Belt, the Federal government intervened after an indirect fashion. A share-cropper delegation visiting Washington was promised that an investigation would be made into the treatment of their people. Immediately after the strike, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration announced that benefit payments would henceforth go directly to the tenants instead of the landlords. The increased benefits will not amount to over ten per cent, hardly a drop in the bucket, but a concession which will encourage the rural masses of the South to struggle for further advantages. Moreover, these promises of the AAA will not be kept except in those places where the croppers are organized to secure their enforcement.

For organization is the only weapon of the eight and one-half million cotton serfs in the South. While the perspectives for both of the cropper unions are very encouraging, only a total of 37,000 tenants belong to either group. The Share Croppers Union has grown from an initial enrollment of 30 in 1931 to 12,000 in 1935. Possibly ninety per cent of these are Negroes, of whom only 2500 live outside of Alabama. Fusion of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Share Croppers Union would greatly strengthen the agrarian labor movement, and mean one solid organization extending its tentacles throughout the South. It is not too much to say that the South is the key to the national agricultural situation; that if its masses can throw off their feudal burdens, we may expect an improvement in the living standards of farmers throughout the country.

Various big-hearted southerners have been offering panaceas designed to kill or cure the cropper. Relief administrators have shifted many tenants to subsistence homesteads, popularly known as steer farms. One Mexican steer farmer in Texas told me that he had earned fifty dollars in eight months from his place, but had incurred an initial indebtedness of three hundred dollars. He has been permanently dropped from the relief rolls, and the farm plus improvements will revert to the original landlord for debt at the end of a year's tenure. During the recent convention of the Share Croppers Union, one of the subsistence victims declared, "I'd rather be in the penitentiary than on a steer farm."

The Bankhead Bill

Senator John H. Bankhead, having been mainly instrumental in driving twenty per cent of the croppers from the land, now generously proposes to put a few of them back. One billion dollars in bonds would be issued under his new bill to "rehabilitate the dispossessed. The Share Croppers Union, originating in Senator Bankhead's home state, knows the gentleman too well to take much stock in his patent remedies. Here, it declares, would be a chance for the planters to sell their sub-marginal lands at fancy prices to the government. Moreover, not over one hundred million dollars would be accessible in one year. "Graduated starvation," is the way that one country school teacher described the plan to me.

One thing is certain: the immediate future of the South will be an era of struggle. The new cotton picking machine will take the last moldy crumb from the mouth of the last moldy tenant. Annie Mae Merriweather, widow of Jim Press Merriweather, spoke prophetically in a letter published in the *Rural Worker* for December, 1935:

"This terror we suffered lately didn't give strength to the sick landlords. It only showed us that they'd rather see us die at the point of lyncher's guns than to give us a living wage.

"But we are more determined than ever to organize and fight to the last ditch and tooth and nail until we have won better conditions in the Black Belt of the South!"

69th Founder's Day

In accordance with its long established custom of inviting a distinguished alumnus back each year to deliver the Founder's Day address, Morehouse College had President H. Councill Trenholm of Alabama State Teachers College and a graduate of Morehouse in 1920 as the speaker on the 69th anniversary of the founding, Tuesday, February 18. Formal exercises commemorating the beginning of the college work were held in Sale Hall Chapel.

Conversion

(*Continued from page 78*)

about it. Not that his friends had lied. Oh, no, he didn't mean that, but to say he had felt the spirit when he hadn't—well, that would be lying against God, and that meant damnation, sure and certain.

It was Grandma Brown who, as usual, took charge of the family council. From her seat at the head of the table she began to speak, pointing her finger at the culprit.

"Boy, you is a disgrace to yo' ma an' yo' pa an' me. Don' you stan' starin' at me lak dat, sah! Wheh is you manners? Look a dat boy, Jean! He ain't got de grace to bow his head in shame. He look at me jes' as brazen as if he was my equal in age an' Christian experience. How dare you, sah? If I was in yo' place, I'd keep my eyes on de groun' and crawl in de presence o' God's children, I would.

"But you cain't do nothin' wid dis present generation. Dey haids ain't dry fo' dey begin actin' high an' mighty, an' flyin' in de face of Providence. Dat's what comes o' all dis yeah book-learnin'. I done tole you all along, Jean, to stop sendin' dat boy to school. Nothin' good nevah come o' no sech truck. Look at him now! Hardenin' his heart and stifferin' his neck against de true religion an' de voice o' God! Settin' all through dis revival, an' lettin' all de good sermons Rebben Smith been preachin' run offen his mind like water offen a duck's back.

"He's disgracin' de family name, he lets all dat trash gitin' converted while he jes' sets down. Ef he was my son, I'd teah up ev'y book in ten miles o' him, put him to plowin' wid his pa, an' set his feet in de path o' righteousness, dat's what I' do."

Having exhausted her breath, her vocabulary and her wrath, Grandma Brown sat back, queenlike, in the old split hickory chair, folded her arms and gazed through and beyond Harvey into space.

Unable to make up her mind, Jean looked distractedly from her mother to her husband. In every controversy she sided with the most persistent and most vociferous speaker. Reuben, her husband, until now calmly silent, turned to Harvey and beckoned him to the chair at the other end of the table, facing Grandma Brown.

"Set down, Son," he said in a kindly voice.

Grandma Brown shrieked in fury, and rose to her feet, all a-tremble.

"Set down, an' in front of me? That impudent young rascal what don't know enough to look humble when he's bein' chastised? Set down wid me, a true believer, when his own heart's too hard to be touched? Well, of all de mistakes! No wondah dis young generation goin' to de debbil! I'll trouble you fo' my hat and walking stick, Jean."

"Don't go, Ma! Harvey needn't set down. Wait, an' Rueben'll go home with you, soon!" Jean put her hand on her mother's arm.

Reuben's fist rang on the table, making both women jump.

"Ashes to ashes an' dust to dust ain't been said over me yet, so I guess I'm still head of dis house! When time comes one of my children cain't set at the table wid one of my guests—well—I guess—it's time fo' that guest to—depart!

"Reuben!" Jean's eyes were wide with fear and astonishment.

Grandma Brown stood frozen with surprise. In all her eighteen years acquaintance with her son-in-law she had never heard him speak as long or so forcibly. He had always been "easy" to get along with. Realizing that to stay would be to sacrifice her dignity, the old woman gestured feebly to her daughter for her stick and hat. Receiving them, she hastily jammed the hat on her white head, grasped her stick, and, with as much hauteur as she could muster, strode out slamming the door behind her.

"Now, don' you worry," Reuben said, seeing tears in Jean's eyes. "She'll git over it an' come around tomorrow out o' curiosity to see if I done whaled the life out o' Harvey, or jes' pitch him in the Mississippi, instead. Now, you go to bed, an' me an' Harvey'll talk this thing over."

Bewildered completely, Jean turned to go, patting Harvey on the shoulder as she passed him, and turning an imploring look on her husband, over the boy's shoulder, as she passed into the adjoining room.

"Well, Son, since we got rid o' them women-folks, I guess we can talk this thing over man to man."

THE kindness in his father's voice put Harvey at ease. He had been as astonished as the others at the sudden outbreak from his taciturn parent. As he approached the table to sit down, a passing breeze blew through the curtains of the kitchen, parting them and revealing the white light of the moon.

"Gee, Dad, I wish we could talk outside!" The words spilled out before Harvey had time to wonder what his father would think of a boy who was

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carried away by the sight of the moonlight.

"Jes' thinkin' the same myself. Let's go out."

Opening the door, Harvey allowed his father to pass out first, and then followed him. They stood a moment on the porch, looking out on the night scene. Before them, across the road, was the black line of trees and bushes marking the river's edge; to their right, the black trees and denseness of the swamp; to their left the fields under cultivation.

Together they passed down the steps of the porch, and walked slowly to the fence in front of the house.

"Well, Harvey, Grandma Brown thinks you've disgraced us, but I'd rather you acted as you did, than lied about it. At least you're honest."

"Thanks, Dad. I—I tried awfully hard, but something just stuck inside me. I couldn't see any vision; I couldn't hear any voices, an' I couldn't feel like the others said they did, even when Preacher Smith put his hands on my head. I give up, Dad. Guess I'm goin' to be another Thomas Leppard."

"No, I don't think that. Thomas never was in earnest, accordin' to my way of thinkin'. He liked bein' made over—havin' people notice him, an' he took that way to get it. But I been noticin' you. You is in earnest, I see that. No, you ain't goin' be another Leppard. You ain't got the no 'count blood in you that's in him."

"Well, somehow I feel pretty much ashamed. I tried hard, and I can't help wondering why I couldn't feel religious like the rest. I went into the swamp today to—to see. Dad, does everybody have to go through the same experience?

"I been wonderin' about that same thing for years, Harvey, an' I been studyin' these folks that gets religion every revival, for the past thirty years, an' this has been my observations. Some of those that has the long-windedest tales to tell about what they's felt and what they's seen, stay pretty straight for five or six months—an' some not that long. Then, the next things anybody knows, they's back to all the tricks they knew before they confessed religion, with a few fancy ones added.

"Then, I've seen some who jes' had a talk with their Maker earnest and quiet-like, an' who didn't have no long, fancy tale to tell, join the church and go about in they quiet way doin' more good fo' the kingdom an' God with one finger than the whole passel of loud speakers put together."

"Then we all don't have to come the same way?"

"It's like this, to me, Son. Jes' as God don' use the same way to make a summer day pretty, He don' use the same way wid us. Sometimes He sends lightnin', thunder, and rain to make the grass greener and the flowers prettier—sometimes he sends jes' a soft, gentle shower, an' again he jes' sends a tiny breeze to ripple the grass an' pass over the petal of a flower, givin' it color an' beauty you'd never guess was ther. That's jes' the way He comes to different ones of us, to my way of thinkin'.

"'Taint jes' a ticklin' good feelin' makes religion, nohow. When you get so you understan' God ain't settin' off somewhere manufacturin' visions an' feelin's an' experiences to order for us, but that He's filled the worl' with visions of Hisse'f in everything that's in the earth, an' sent us His message in the water, the breeze, the sky, why I reckon you're on the right track."

Harvey drew in his breath—the first light-hearted breath he had drawn in days. Turning to his father, he cried:

"After all, Dad, getting converted is a matter between God and me, ain't it? Whatever way it comes, I can't make a mistake when it does come. Look at that moon! Don't it seem like it's just hanging low tonight to tell me God understands my heart?"

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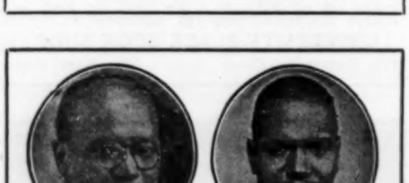

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